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The Catholic Worker

December, 1963

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The Second Session

WHILE IT IS true enough to say that the second session of the Council did not bring forth as many surprises as the first, there was at least one subtle change which has gone unnoticed. We were spared complaints that the press was treating the Council as if it were nothing more than a political convention. The gist of the earlier outcries was that far too much stress was laid on personalities, factions, disputes and plots, and far too little on the truth that the Council was under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The main difficulty with this line of criticism is of course that the naked eye can see only the "political" and personal forces at work among the Council Fathers; in the very nature of things no one can present an eye-witness account of the interventions of the Holy Spirit. One can only take His presence for granted—and then comment on the passing scene. This is as it should be, for the Holy Spirit can only do His work through human instruments.

It was the belated recognition of this fundamental point which helped clear the air both at the Council and at home. Hardly anyone felt embarrassed to report that Cardinal Frings had attacked the Holy Office; that many of the Council Fathers were disappointed that the Pope did not intervene more vigorously against the footdragging of the curial commission presidents; that the bishops were sharply divided on where to place the question of the Virgin Mary; that petitions and counter-petitions circulated like leaves on a windy fall day. It came to be taken for granted, in other words, that the course of the Council would be determined by what the Fathers and the Pope said and did.

But what did they do? Quite obviously, they voted approvingly for the constitutions on the liturgy and on communications, thus completing work on two of the seventeen schemata making up the Council's agenda. As for the constitution on the liturgy, it is sufficient here to express a sense of joy and satisfaction that the liturgical movement has received such a decisive vote of confidence. Few neglected minorities have ever been so thoroughly vindicated. As for the constitution on communications, we find it hard to muster equal enthusiasm. That some 500-odd bishops voted *non placet* suggests we are not alone. Practically speaking, we would expect that this lack of unanimity will not be followed by approving second-thoughts (as happened at Vatican I), but by further theological efforts to refine and improve this position.

IT IS this latter probability which calls attention to a reality implicit in the work of the Council. If recent Church history has taught us anything, it is the great difference between what the bishops affirm in principle and what they are willing to carry out in practice. The fruits of the liturgical constitution will ripen only if and when the bishops avail themselves of the changes which it permits.

There is nothing in principle, so far as we can judge, to keep an individual bishop or a regional body of bishops from doing nothing at all. The only thing which makes this unlikely is the great enthusiasm among the laity, clergy and the bishops themselves (or most of them) for the constitution. By contrast, the lack of feeling for the communications decree may serve to greatly weaken its practical impact (whatever happened, for instance, to *Veterum Sapientia?*).

Such considerations as these, bearing on empirical rather than theoretical Catholicism, serve to underscore the importance of the principle of collegiality. That principle was not brought to full clarification during the second session. Although the notable vote of October 30 on Chapter 3 of *De Ecclesia* saw the bishops affirm four points leading toward a theory of collegiality, neither the Fathers nor the Pope followed through with any decisive action. For all that, it remains apparent—if only by omission of

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deeds—that the bishops have always felt some practical freedom to act as they see fit. The result—one need only recall the way many bishops ignored earlier papal directives on the liturgy and sacred music—has been a *de facto* if not *de jure* exercise of episcopal autonomy.

Add to this the frequently high-handed methods of the Roman Congregations in their dealing with the bishops, the extreme variations in diocesan policy toward cooperation with other bishops, ecumenical dialogue, lay and clerical freedom—and one has a stark model of confusion. A reasonable conclusion is that only a well-fashioned principle of collegiality can serve to bring about a sorely needed unity in the Church while preserving, at the same time, a spirit of experimentation and flexibility. That such a principle would inevitably cast the doctrine of papal infallibility and authority in a clearer light is not a minor consideration.

Yet the inability of the Fathers to clarify their thinking on collegiality is not particularly distressing. It is a concept which will take time to develop. More troubling was the failure of the Fathers to vote on those two parts of the ecumenical schema, chapters 4 and 5, which dealt respectively with the Jews and with religious liberty. More than on any other occasion, this omission showed the power of a small minority to frustrate the will of a majority; by delays and evasions this minority managed to keep the chapters bottled up in the commissions. No less distressing, we hate to say, was the failure of the Pope to press the issue in accordance with the will of the Fathers.

Despite these many uncertainties, despite the erratic and slow course of the Council, we see no reason to be disheartened. As many of our correspondents at the Council have reported, the second session saw an impressive unanimity among the bishops emerge in the actual debates. While it was often said during the first session that a long Council would favor the conservatives, events have not confirmed this view. Tactically, the conservatives have many advantages which they have been adept in exploiting. But in the long run the growing force of the progressive majority should prevail.

The American bishops provide an apt illustration. During the first session little was heard from them, thus seeming to fulfill the gloomy prediction that they would be sleeping giants. The second session was an entirely different matter. The Americans came into their own in a dramatic way. In speech after speech they spoke well and with effect, showing themselves capable of taking a place of equality among their more publicized European peers. That development itself was enough to make the second session a significant one.

On the Far Right

PITY the poor New York *Times*. If it had refused to accept that full-page ad from the John Birch Society a week ago, the far right would have screamed about political discrimination in its advertising columns. As it is, the ad has been printed, and the *Times* can expect a number of inquiries as to why it feels it should be a party to a gross re-writing of President Kennedy's assassination, a typically Birch-style approach.

The ad takes as its point of departure that the assassin was a Communist (Martin Dies, after all, "points out" this fact), and goes on to wonder whether any Communist kills a President except on orders from above. The antennae of the far right, always sensitive to a fresh conspiracy, detect the same sort of ominous plotting that Moscow does. Only the source of the villainy is different, and if the source happens to further the rehabilitation program for the John Birch Society, so much the better.

National Review's reputation for championing lost causes suffered a blow when it gave up on Robert Welch (too extreme). But it seems to be back in the groove again. In its regular editorial space, it passes on to us a private letter from a friend of the editor comparing the assassinations of Trotsky and Kennedy, and warning against the danger of dismissing the possibility of a grand plot in Mr. Kennedy's death. Perhaps this is a danger. We would think, however, that fanning the fear and hysteria about Communist power in the U.S. and attributing every misfortune to Communist intervention are somewhat more dangerous. The FBI, not widely known as a left-wing organization, reports that Oswald acted alone. And for the Birchers there is a troublesome question: If President Kennedy was as soft on Communism as they claimed, why should the Communists order his assassination? Could the Communists be fallible, after all?

This is a weighty question, and we gladly leave it to the Birch leadership. From where we sit, however, the far right shows little sign of mellowing. The death of President Kennedy (like the death of Pope John) was the occasion for a few backhanded whacks for the deceased from the editors of *National Review*. The John Birch Society is trying for a comeback at the expense of the facts concerning the President's assassination. And the New York *Daily News*, the nation's largest newspaper, still reminds its readers regularly that "the only good Communist is a dead Communist." In fact The *News* was able to work this reminder into a post-assassination editorial deploring the growing acceptance of

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violence in American life. The *News* managed this through a rare preference for government action over private enterprise: only dead Communists will do, said the *News*, but we should let the government take care of the killing.

Drive for Economy

CITIZENS who saw in President Johnson's early appeals for government economy simply a gesture to please the nation's business community were soon proved to be mistaken. Mr. Johnson manifests every intention of effecting substantial savings. Secretary McNamara's announcement of the shutting down of thirty-three military bases has brought this out most dramatically.

As a sign of better prospects for peace, such curtailment could hardly be more welcome. It comes at a time when various phases of our military stockpiling are nearing completion; expenditures for weapons will also soon begin to recede. This attracted little national attention.

But the warmly welcomed Johnson drive on "needless" government spending led, for one thing, to a new battle in Congress on foreign aid, that vulnerable budget item which supplies the least political mileage. The President himself was appalled at this reaction when the House attempted to cut eight hundred millions more from the already heavily slashed foreign aid appropriation—and to do so at the expense of vital economic programs in underdeveloped lands.

Most vociferous commentators of all were Congressmen from affected localities. Several of the doomed bases operate in distress areas as it is; the hope that local businessmen will take over the abandoned facilities to provide the needed employment appears highly fatuous. If defense expenditures are to be cut back without the provision of new comparable productive activities, our chronic unemployment will only deepen. John Kenneth Galbraith favors an all-out educational attack in a hundred of our most depressed urban and rural counties, while Mr. Johnson himself is said to be considering a similar "declaration of war" focused on America's most impoverished localities. Without some program of this sort, savings on armaments and the contemplated tax cut will leave this nation's twenty million destitute as badly off as these fellow-citizens are at present.

CHRISTMAS SCHEDULE

In keeping with the growing practice, The Commonweal will omit one issue during the Christmas season. The next issue will be that dated January 10. To all our readers we extend our very best wishes for a happy and holy Christmas.

THE EDITORS

NEWS & VIEWS

Revolt Against Hoffa?

IS JAMES R. Hoffa about to get his come-uppance? Will he be taken on his own ground, the 1.7-million-member Teamsters union?

The recent resignation of six Teamsters officials, including Harold L. Gibbons, the lanky egghead who served as Hoffa's executive assistant, has set off speculation on a palace revolt. Hoffa, viewed as all-powerful only two weeks ago, now, it seems, is surrounded by envious paladins seeking his ouster as president of the Teamsters. Some insiders claim that Hoffa can count on only two of his thirteen international vice presidents. As yet, the eleven have not turned on their caesar.

What we have so far in place of a revolt of the palace guard is their resignations, quite a different thing as the Romans can attest. However, we cannot say that the resignations will be without effect for they turned on Hoffa's boorish reaction to the assassination of President Kennedy, who, despite Hoffa's animosity, held the devotion of the union's rank-and-file. It is conceivable that in a revulsion of good taste, truck union members might rid themselves of Hoffa. Still, one recalls that though the mine workers rebuffed John L. Lewis in 1940 to vote for President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the miners did not oust John L. from office.

Gibbons, and the five who quit with him, showed long-delayed good sense and dedication to principle in severing their close ties to Hoffa. Since they clung so long for Machiavellian reasons to fading hopes of remaking Hoffa into another Reuther, it is perhaps forgivable to assess their resignations in terms of the power politics of the truck union.

Gibbons and Lawrence Steinberg, another of those who resigned, head two powerful Teamsters enclaves—in St. Louis and Cleveland; neither man, however, worked his way up within the truck union.

Gibbons, a 54-year-old ex-school teacher from Chicago and a life-long liberal of ADA persuasion, came out of the CIO retail workers union. Steinberg is a close associate of Gibbons from the CIO days. Neither man is considered a "teamster" by many in the union. Whatever power that has accrued to

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them in recent years beyond the confines of Cleveland and St. Louis would seem to be largely derivative.

Nonetheless, Hoffa does have his enemies on the general executive board. One hesitates to term them *his* "opposition" given the nature of internal Teamsters politics. It is possible that should Hoffa slip, they would gang up on him, but the likelihood that they would rally around Gibbons remains exceedingly slim. What unites these stalwarts quite as much as their dislike of Hoffa and their fondness of their own baronial powers is their hatred of Gibbons and his egghead friends.

Hoffa, as A. H. Raskin points out, still commands the loyalty of his troops. Ever since his election to the Teamsters presidency in 1957 he has been available to the truck driver and warehouseman. His travels have been extensive and indefatigable. "He has been a teamster talking to teamster," notes Raskin.

Of late, Hoffa has become increasingly irascible; but not many think him irresponsible. Few doubt that if challenged he could go out to the terminals and barns of the industry and come into a convention with more than enough votes to assure re-election. His appeal to the rank-and-file seems certain to be strengthened by success at the bargaining table early next year. The union is seeking a three-year master contract with the trucking industry with wage and fringe benefits estimated at 40 cents an hour the first year and 30 cents an hour each of the next two. Indeed, for fear of jeopardizing negotiations, Hoffa's opponents are said to be shunning any open break now. Their restraint no doubt is reinforced by their awareness of Hoffa's popularity at the union's grass roots.

In the end, the dissidents are reduced to waiting out Hoffa's trial next month on Federal charges of jury-tampering in Nashville, Tennessee. The present hope among the disaffected Teamster chieftains comes to rest on the whims of a jury. If Hoffa is acquitted, the current consensus is that he is home free. What it all comes down to, then, is that the Teamsters' palace guard, like everyone else from George Meany to Robert F. Kennedy, has failed to take Jimmy on his own ground. THOMAS R. BROOKS

(Mr. Brooks, former assistant labor editor of "Business Week," is a free-lance writer.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

The President and the Intellectuals

IN THE WEEKS since the death of President Kennedy, no subject has intrigued Washington more than the relationship of the intellectuals he brought into government service to his quite different successor, President Johnson. Can all those Harvard deans and professors and those bright, young, intellectual lawyers successfully transfer their allegiance to the un-bookish cattleman and politician from Texas? The Bundys and Sorensens, Rostows and Schlesingers who are actually in government service are recognized to be only the symbolic representatives of the much larger intellectual communities around the country whose members never dreamed of taking a job in Washington but who still felt a special kinship with the late President and the New Frontier.

Most of my fellow columnists are clear in their own minds where the path of duty lies for the intellectuals: they must rally to Mr. Johnson. Thus, James Reston sternly admonished those who were serving in the government that "in their bereavement, some of them are confusing love with duty, and Kennedy with country. This is taking the form of tragic prophecies that nothing will ever be the same again, which is true—always has been—and that, therefore, they must go away because they will never be used or appreciated by Johnson as they were by Kennedy."

Reston argued, that, on the contrary, Mr. Johnson needs them more and may, in the end, appreciate them more than his predecessor. This article, appearing one week after the assassination, was generally interpreted here as a plea directed almost exclusively to Theodore Sorensen, the gifted young lawyer and speechwriter who devoted a decade of his life to Mr. Kennedy's service, became his alter ego, and understandably suffered a shattering loss. Sorensen has agreed to stay at the White House, at least for the time being.

Max Freedman, the erudite Canadian who used to serve as the Manchester *Guardian* correspondent and now writes a syndicated column for the American press, also urged the men of ideas to make themselves available to the new President. He reported on December 11 that "President Johnson intends to cultivate a close but informal relationship with liberal scholars outside the White House staff. Over the next few months he hopes to establish friendly contacts with representative scholars and writers from various parts of the country so that he will be kept in touch with a steady flow of ideas to supplement the information he receives from official sources."

I regret that I must strike a skeptical note in the midst of this exhortation and mutual goodwill. President Johnson is not only not an intellectual but he ha-

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few intellectual interests and no taste for the company of scholars, writers, and men of the arts. He esteems them as part of the American scene but only in the sense that a city man may be pleased that the Rocky Mountains exist without having any desire to dwell among them. In the coming months, most of the well-known intellectuals of the previous Administration are going to drift out of government service. Neither for them nor for the intellectuals in the country is there going to be any special love affair with the Johnson Administration. We should not trouble ourselves to expect what can never be.

IN THINKING about the relationship between men of ideas and men of power, we have to clarify several basic points. First of all, a President can run the government without the help of intellectuals. President Johnson may, in theory, need them and may even think he wants them but if, in fact, he does not enjoy having them around and does not take the advice of those who are around, he will find he can dispense with them. There are at most only two or three posts on his staff which require a specialist with such a high order of technical competence that, in the nature of things, the man will also be, in the larger sense, a true intellectual. A President needs a science adviser, an economic adviser, and at least one good speechwriter. General Eisenhower filled these posts with Dr. George Kistiakowsky, Dr. Arthur Burns, and Emmet Hughes, respectively. None of these three served through both of Eisenhower's terms, but their names are representative. Aside from them, General Eisenhower found that bankers, automobile company presidents, corporation lawyers, and a former governor of New Hampshire were adequate to his needs. If the country was not, in my judgment, governed as brilliantly and effectively as it could have been, it was nevertheless governed and to the evident satisfaction of a clear majority of the voters.

What was true of Eisenhower was also true of Truman. He dispensed with Robert Sherwood, Elmer Davis, Benjamin Cohen, Thomas Corcoran, and others who at various times served in Franklin Roosevelt's entourage. It is no disparagement of him to recall that he believes that professors and politics mix about as well as oil and water.

Although one speaks of "the intellectual community" as a matter of convenience, intellectuals are not a readily defined interest group such as the meat packers or the cotton farmers. The mistake that President Johnson is prone to make, and Republican politicians have frequently made in recent campaigns, is to think that intellectuals can be appealed to *en bloc*. This is ineffective because unlike businessmen or trade union leaders, intellectuals have no special interest to which a President can address himself. The only thing a President can do is read their books, listen to their music, admire their paintings, or quote their poems. As far as the minority of intellectuals who are politically engaged in an active sense are concerned, what they want the President to do is to take their advice on how to treat all the other interest groups. If he will listen to their advice, as President Kennedy did, on specific problems and include them in his circle of policymakers, they are naturally delighted. Mr. Kennedy not only read Professor Walt Rostow's book on international politics but he also appointed Rostow head of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff and asked his opinion on Laos. He not only admired Arthur Schlesinger's histories but he also asked him to prepare the government "white paper" on Cuba and draft the Presidential speech to the nation during the Mississippi riot. He not only read J. K. Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* but he also appointed him Ambassador to India. These specific acts of confidence are quite different from a politician's being receptive to "a steady flow of ideas" from around the country, ideas that may have no relevance to the actual problems engaging his attention.

Lastly, we must bear in mind that the relationship between any political leader, whether he is Lyndon Johnson or John Kennedy or Adlai Stevenson, with intellectuals is necessarily elusive and sometimes awkward. An intellectual is one who puts ideas and aesthetic ideals first; a politician is one who puts the attainment and exercise of power first. There is an interplay between the two since intellectuals like to see their ideas and insights, insofar as they are relevant, put to practical use, and intelligent politicians cannot act in an intellectual vacuum. But, inevitably, the exercise of great power involves compromise, evasion, and the manipulation and balancing of conflicting interests. If an intellectual is sufficiently thick-skinned, he can accommodate himself to the ways of politics without collapsing into cynicism or disillusionment. But this is not easy since intellectuals generally tend to have subtler scruples and more acute sensibilities; that is why they are intellectuals rather than men of power in the first place. For these reasons, a political leader who hopes to maintain a fruitful relationship with his intellectual contemporaries must exercise a special charm, a special kind of imagination, and a very considerable tolerance. While retaining the ability to act, he must be able to see himself with some of the irony and historic detachment that his intellectual colleagues view him. In short, he must be, as Kennedy and Stevenson have been, half an intellectual himself. Not even his warmest admirer has yet attributed a sense of irony and an impersonal detachment about himself to President Johnson. WILLIAM V. SHANNON

(Mr. Shannon is The Commonweal's regular correspondent in Washington.)

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Big City Christmas

THE WEATHER here has been unseasonably warm, and it was hard to get the Christmas spirit early this year. This was not for want of trying by whatever powers that regulate those things, though. Every year it seems to me that the Christmas season starts a little earlier, although this may tell more about my age than it does about the calendar. In any case, here in New York Santa Claus showed up on every corner the day after Thanksgiving, the big tree went up as usual at Rockefeller Plaza, stickers urging us to "keep Christ in Christmas" blossomed on car bumpers, and the window displays in the big stores turned out to be more elaborate and beautiful than ever.

I don't suppose things are much different in Pittsburgh or Detroit or Chicago or any other big American city. Christmas is our most universal feast, and even Los Angeles gets nostalgic for snow around this time of year. This year, though, New York has something I don't think the other big cities have seen since depression days—a rent strike.

In one way, New York's rent strike is a highly inappropriate subject to write about at Christmas. Christmas is a time of gaiety, of color, of children laughing, of beauty. The story behind the rent strike is an ugly one, and it is no wonder if most of us prefer not to consider it.

The N. Y. rent strike is not, let me say right away, a very big thing. It was organized by local leaders, and it involves only a few Negro families in some of the city's worst areas. The idea is simplicity itself: the tenants refuse to pay rent until the landlord does something about the various violations of the housing code in the buildings in question. Preeminent among these complaints are rats: big, vicious rats which frequently enough slip out at night to attack babies in their cribs.

I said the story was an ugly one, and it is. Yet what better time to speak of it than now, when men's thoughts are turned to the Holy Family at Bethlehem, for whom there was also no room at the inn? I pray that this small-scale strike will be a success, and that the movement will spread, not only in New York but in every city of the country. How wonderful if the poor themselves do what the rest of us have been unable to accomplish and take the profit out of being a slum landlord! But these families should not have to fight their battle alone.

In an affluent America, slums and the degrading kind of poverty they represent are an abomination and a scandal. Yet we have come to accept them as part of our way of life; they are just there, like the Santa Claus on the corner and the crib scene in the department store window. We surround children with ugliness from the moment of birth and then wonder why they do not grow up to love the good, the true and the beautiful. The strange thing is not that some become warped and twisted and full of violence; the miracle is that so many emerge almost unscathed. Yet this is a miracle for which we can claim little credit.

In every major city in America, children will sleep this Christmas in firetraps that should have been torn down decades ago. In every one of them families of six or eight will celebrate the Glad Tidings in one-room kitchenette apartments—indeed, they will count themselves as lucky to have any place at all. The future predicted by city planners is already faintly visible: an inner city that will be a desert of commercial buildings and slums, relieved only a little by occasional oases called luxury apartments. And more and more in this inner city one will find only two classes of people: the rich, who can afford to pay premium prices for space and safety, and the very poor, who cannot afford to move and have no place to go anyway.

To those who know the slums this is an old story. Yet to the public at large it is not, and in a way the Federal housing program is partly responsible for their lack of awareness. Seeing a few big projects, people tend to think the problem of the slums has been faced and conquered. In fact, however, we have only nibbled around the edges of the problem. As far as TV sets and autos and mink stoles are concerned, ours is indeed an economy of abundance. But where housing is concerned we live in an economy of scarcity; for the poor there is simply not enough decent housing to go around. Despite our comfortable self-delusions, the poor do not live six or eight to a room from choice; they do so because they have no alternative.

There are, of course, all kinds of technical problems connected with redeeming our cities, and the cost would be very high. I cannot accept such arguments as the last word, however; I simply cannot believe that a nation which now plans to put a man on the moon is incapable of making America's cities fit to live in.

No, it is not really the technical problems that stop us, nor even the money—it is a question of what we think is important. After the death of President Kennedy and the accession of President Johnson, some editorialists talked about "A New Beginning." This is what I'd like to see us try for: a new beginning in which the plight of the poor and the oppressed would be at least as important as our ability to put a man on the moon in this decade or to increase our already incalculable power of overkill. With such a beginning, it might even be that we would move a little closer to keeping Christ in Christmas.

JAMES O'GARA

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The Incarnation Teaches Us to Take the World Seriously

Christmas and the World

JAMES V. SCHALL

JESUS CHRIST was born once in this world. He was born in the fulness of time. He was born a child. He was born in a known place, Bethlehem, son of a known man, a poor man, Joseph. He came into the world in this particular way because of the free choice of a finite, human person, His mother, Mary. He belonged to the race of Adam, He was a man, He belonged to the House of David, He was a Jew. He was the only Son of the Father. He was in the beginning Word, God.

Such is the Christian belief in the Incarnation. Paradoxically, the Incarnation itself is the one religious and theoretical position that makes it possible to accept simultaneously man's spiritual nature and destiny together with his natural material condition and mission as an ordered unity and whole. If man is split, as he seems to be, it is not primarily because of his material body and his spiritual soul but rather because of his own choice as a person, body and soul. When the Word became flesh, man really learned the whole dignity of what he was. The Incarnation teaches that the Son of God actually belongs to this world; therefore, his deeds, his choices, are significant beyond passing appearances. The Incarnation, then, is the foundation of that Christian doctrine set forth in Matthew, John, Paul, James, indeed in the whole of the New Testament, which insists that effective praise and service of the Father must embrace and be manifested in effective and sincere love of one's actual neighbor.

We can, perhaps, appreciate more fully the meaning of this central Christian truth if we pay some attention to the phenomenon of modern atheism. Atheism and Christianity agree on one fundamental point. They both insist on the importance of the world itself. Surprisingly, in this respect, a positive and consistent atheism, of all the religions and philosophies available, is closer to Christianity than perhaps any other doctrine. A major reason for this, of course, is that modern atheism, after the Seventeenth Century, was often in essence merely Christianity minus the recognition of the supernatural, without admitting that only God could be God. A more penetrating reason, however, lies in the rigorously incarnational nature of Christianity which forces it to accept, almost in spite of itself and its own spiritual temptations, the human and physical world with all its peculiarities and exigencies as real and good.

Ironically, the surest way to find oneself outside the Christian faith is to deny not the reality of God, but the reality of the world. For if you admit the existence of the world, but deny God, there is still hope, the avenue to God is still open. But if you deny the reality of the world itself or any of its aspects—be it matter, pain, death, goodness, or sin—there is no hope. God is dead in that case because man is, quite literally, senseless, without any contact with the world, and therefore with God. Strangely enough, it is sometimes harder to believe in the world than in God.

FROM THIS point of view, a fairly thorough case can be made for the proposition that the most damaging and serious onslaughts against Christianity have originated, not from materialism and worldliness as such, but rather from doctrines and ideas which exalt the spirit at the expense of the Incarnation.

The abiding doubt in the heart of every Christian man centers on the difficulty of accepting the world as it is, a world replete with ignorance, sin, and suffering, yet a world redeemed, a world which God loves. Somehow such a world is too "sticky," too unspiritual. Conversely, the perennial problem of the non-Christian, and especially the non-believer, is the fear that this ability of the Christian to confront sin, weakness, and death involves a rejection of any need for world improvement. The Christian of today thus finds himself in the highly ambiguous position of striving to uphold two seemingly contradictory tenets—a belief that death and weakness are inevitable along with an affirmation that the world *can be* improved and is *worth* improving.

Actually, I am inclined to suspect that a spiritual problem of considerable depth is at issue here, especially for the modern male. A significant body of research and thought has been devoted to the psychological and spiritual status of the male in our society. Rollo May's suspicion that there is much *angst* among our men is, I think, well-founded. Men are clearly disconnected;

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they die earlier; they are unsatisfied with their world and work; most corporations have serious leadership problems as do armies, states, churches, and schools.

In current literature, such novels as John Updike's *Rabbit, Run*, Philip Roth's *Letting Go*, and William Styron's *Lie Down in Darkness* are extremely unsettling accounts of contemporary men unable to come to grips with their lives and their loves, men who in the end seem simply to give up, to let go, to run in the face of life's realities, to lie down in darkness. Mr. Joseph Hayes, in a disturbing essay (which appeared recently in the Western Edition of the N. Y. *Times*) on "distorted views of life" as reflected on the current New York stage, depicts this trend quite well: ". . . the theater presents us with a picture of man's hopelessness, lack of significance, or value under an empty scowling sky, his self-deluded stupidity, cupidity, contemptible puniness—his utter worthlessness . . . these writers seem to be glorying viciously in their own contempt for others, their own self-oriented sickness. The pity is all for self; the vision is personal and private."

ARTHUR KOESTLER has suggested that in Europe this same lack of interest in the world manifests itself in a cult of comfort and security. And James Reston wrote from London recently of the young Europeans: "for the time being, the private purposes of life are taking precedence over the larger public purposes. . . . The charge against this emerging generation is not that they believe in wrong things but that they don't believe in anything." The contemporary painter, Mr. Francis Bacon, sums up what is perhaps the extreme in this line of thought: "man now realizes that he is an accident, that he is a complete futile being, that he has to play out the game without reason."

Why the total spirit of all of these trends seems to me a manifestation of a peculiarly "male" problem is because all of these observations are, in one form or another, expressions of a doubt about the worth of the world and its great issues. The female of our race is not so directly exposed to such anguish since she finds her glory and destiny more especially in persons, in their lives and uniquenesses. As yet, there does not appear any great disorientation here, except as a reflexion of the male problem, except in so far as woman too must be concerned with the reality outside her private life.

The male of our race, however, is responsible primarily for the life in the city, for peace and order, for abundance and scarcity, for thought, reflection and art, for science and technology, for families and cities and states, for the whole race. Whenever we find a widespread questioning and disavowal of responsibility for this public task, we can be certain that the male of our species is seriously ill-at-ease with himself and his tasks, that strangely things are not well in Zion.

In investigating the cause of such unrest, several explanations are possible. Margaret Mead, with an intelligent woman's insight, has suggested in the *Saturday Review* that the threat of the bomb, of material obliteration, is more serious than we suppose on our psychic structures. Work and confidence in the future depend upon regularity and the assurance of a tomorrow, on the belief that one will have a posterity. Scientific progress presupposes order and stability. Yet, men cannot be guaranteed tomorrow.

Modern man "has made his own world." He has approached the destiny Karl Marx sought for him. But he has also created the ways and means and motives to destroy this world of his. Therefore, Miss Mead continues, "without a future for anyone, anywhere, human life loses its meaning. There is no rationale for the simplest act, no reason to save or to plan or to build. . . . As men see it, this new possibility of total destruction is not an act of God's vengeance . . . but instead an act that is the outcome of man's fullest development as man."

TO BE fully a man seems in the end to mean destroying oneself and one's fellows. Such is the dilemma. I am willing to admit much validity for this "threat of war" thesis as a cause for retiring from the world to one's own private life. It somehow has a classically epicurean ring to it. Yet the answer does not seem to get at the core issue that really appears to bother men. They know that if the world will be destroyed the day after the next, there is not much sense in planting a redwood or even a tulip or rose. Modern man's problem remains in this form: even if the bomb will not be dropped, as we must suppose, still why plant the garden or renew the city?

Another popular explanation centers on the population explosion: there are going to be too many of us. The most extreme expressions of this view maintain that here is a greater and more certain threat than war or the bomb. Since economic and technical development are self-defeating in the context of rapid population growth, if not actually contributory to it, then why bother? Again, there is here one of the truly serious issues of our era. Political leaders, especially in under-

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developed areas, can be tempted to despair when they see small, hard-fought gains apparently blotted out by greater population increases.

Still another analysis maintains that modern man really has no obvious stake in the world. It is a huge, impersonal mechanism with replaceable parts, of which he is one, often one of the more expendable ones. With no real contribution to make, then, man reverts back to his private life, if he is rich, to his tinkering, his wine, his dissipation. Even his little growth in knowledge is classed as entertainment, not leisure. If he is poor, he must rely, like many miners in Kentucky, on government doles, on the surplus of an abundant economy.

Nevertheless, these theories miss the essential issue. Indeed, as I see it, problems of military warfare, population growth, economic development, and automation have been responsible for the most crucial and refined public thinking of our generation. My impression is that men seriously concerned about these issues display little of the weakness and lack of balance described by our playwrights and novelists. And if this is correct, then we are back to the problem of atheism and Christianity, to the Incarnation, to the problem of the worthwhileness of the world. And, too, we are back to the masculine problem, to the problem of what it is to be a man. For to be a man is to choose, to take responsibility for some real person, some real group, some real institution, some real task in the world. It is to be associated with other men for the common temporal tasks before them. It is to be absolutely realistic about the seriousness of the world, yet with hope and confidence in the knowledge that the world in itself is worth all the effort.

THE ROOT of all masculine despair and dejection, consequently, seems to be buried in a doubt, not about one's family and private life, but about the meaning of the eight crucial hours—or whatever it may be—of work that a man must accomplish every day to create the world as we see it and thereby to establish his dignity as man by helping in this common effort. In other words, we have here a doubt about the world itself and its tasks. It is not a question of whether men are going to perform these tasks; they will do this in some fashion. Rather it is whether these tasks have cosmic meaning while at the same time being daily, often routine enterprises in the world.

Thus, death itself does not seem to be the deepest *angst* for modern man. Rather it is a death which sums up and defines a life that has no abiding, eternal relevance for what it has accomplished during its three score and ten years. The contemporary British poet George Barker has perceived what is at stake:

"This is the only dignity left, the single
Death without purpose and without understanding
Like birds boys drop with catapults. Not comprehending
Denudes us of the personal aim and angle,
And so we are perfect sacrifice to nothing."

The death of a salesman will always be a moving and disturbing experience, even should the salesman be a saint. Yet for our contemporaries, the main concern is precisely whether being a salesman for thirty years has any relationship to the significance of his death and its definition of who he is; and further, whether his life's work really does benefit his fellow man.

The issue between the atheist and the Christian, consequently, is not about the profound significance of the world and work in it—they agree in this—but about the relevance of the world and work to the permanent persons and to the community of persons. Oriental religions and some forms of Western asceticism have often, and plausibly, argued that man's experience with pleasure, honors, and service to the state will, if seen honestly, clearly reveal the ephemeral nature of these goals and thus of the world. The inevitable conclusion seemed to be, why worry about them? They cannot yield God. If this is so, atheism has responded, we must obviously reject God because he is the enemy of the world of man.

Christianity, however, has read the New Testament. God is man. The Word, in whom all things are created, became flesh. The power of God given to man is itself creative. Man's task is not just to receive life, but to give it to others once he has received it. He is to subdue the earth, to multiply, to go forth and teach all nations. God is so great he can give creatures the power to act for themselves freely.

Indeed, the whole natural and supernatural effort of man is to realize all things in *freedom*. It is the glory of the order of salvation in which we live that God does nothing significant for man without man's free acceptance of God's initial gift. There is a true sense in which all progress in the world, in the state as well as in the Church, is growth in the recognition of freedom, in the freedom of God as well as in the freedom of man. The Redemption itself, which in its radical postulate is a pure, unmerited gift of God to man, as both Luther and Trent agreed, divinizes man, giving him the active power to complete the task of God in the world, the restoration of all things in Christ. And while this restoration cannot be totally accomplished in this life, still what can be done, should be done. Man is free to accept or reject this mission.

There is a true earthly task given to men. They have something they *must* accomplish as men. They are responsible for the generations, for the world, for the full development of the earthly city. This is their dignity. A failure to participate in this task—even if only in the most menial jobs—is self-destructive. Yves Simon used to say that if you paid a man an extremely high salary to dig a hole six-by-six and then to fill it up again

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immediately and start over, and if this were his sole job, he would soon go mad. What we witness to in our own shops and offices, in our plays and novels, in our schools and agencies is, very often, this doubt about man's purpose in the world for which he is responsible. This, I believe, is the spiritual problem of our time.

Gregory Baum, in his report in these pages [August 23] of the recent Faith and Order meeting in Montreal, referred to a group of German Protestant theologians who are quite opposed to any cosmic conception of Christ. In one sense, I suppose, these theologians are merely trying to oppose the oversimplified notion which keeps coming up in all religions: that the order on earth should be an exact image of the order in the physical heavens, or that the vastness of the universe could have nothing to do with Ephesians I, Colossians I, or the Prologue to John. Yet, I think this is where we must take our stand. We must really believe that God is great enough to have created precisely *this* universe, that the Word became flesh in *this* world, that all things return through man, through Christ to the Father, that therefore what man does has cosmic significance since the world is *for* man.

Many will object that it is arrogance and stupidity to make man the center of the universe. Yet, it is man who knows, whose mind seeks quite literally to know all things, whose corporate effort more and more illumines the places in which we dwell. Further, it is not man who makes himself the key creature that he is, it is God in the Incarnation. Man is the masterwork of creation because the Word became man. The destiny of man in the world is to humanize it, to spiritualize it. All things return to the Father through man. Man returns to God through the Son and the Spirit.

THE CORE of the personal life of God is societal. In giving man a true task to accomplish in the universe, in further divinizing him so that he shares this trinitarian life, God has complimented man by leaving to him the mission of bringing material creation into the service of human persons through the use of his mind and hands. This is the common effort in which all men are engaged. Material creation must be brought by man into the service of persons. The whole Christian theology of the sacraments is involved here. For the sacraments are God's way of using the world and human nature, signs and symbols, in his personal communion with man. The sacraments are the here and now continuation of the Incarnation in the world, the here and now continuation of the communion of God and man. Even in the supernatural order, God has respected man's relationship to the material world. In this way, He has again looked upon the creation and seen that it is very good.

But persons are *for* one another, as they are in the Trinity; they are society, they are to be one, they are to be forever. The life of God is *agape*, eternal life. The end of man is *agape*, eternal life. Man's common goal in material creation is the society of persons, the *koinonia*, the fellowship. This is why all true manhood must be both earthly oriented—the earth must be transformed—and person oriented—the actual neighbor must be loved while on earth. If we are witnessing in our day a crisis of manhood, as I suspect we are, we are doing so because men in their actual lives entertain a doubt about the meaning of the world and of persons. This doubt cuts them off from the world itself, and therefore from the possibility of true love and true redemption, since it was to this imperfect, changing, plastic world to which Christ came and which He transformed. In the end, you cannot be a man and doubt the world. Man must choose and commit himself to what exists, to the world and to persons.

As we live through the Advent and Christmas seasons in this year 1963, a year counted from the birth of Our Lord, we cannot but be astonished by the rapidity with which the sufferings and anguishes of our fellow men break in upon our consciences. We see bishops at the Council suddenly realizing ever more clearly from their fellow bishops what the real conditions and problems of all humanity are. We see Americans jolted by the protests of their Negro brothers. We see hunger, ignorance, and poverty everywhere finding voices; in the General Assembly, in Commons, in the Council, in the Senate, even in the Presidium, there are voices protesting that there is a vocation for man in the world.

The Incarnation has, so to speak, divinized this vocation. It was Tertullian who remarked in a beautiful phrase that "the hinge of salvation is the flesh." This must mean not just that Christ became man, that the principle of our eternal life was present among men, but also that whatever the flesh suffers, whatever it experiences, its joys, triumphs, defeats, pains, and sins are also the hinges of salvation. They are the hinges because these are exactly the pressing realities which God has left to human freedom to transform in His grace. We have a spiritual problem, we have a rampant emptiness in our hearts, because we do not as men and as societies take seriously enough this call given to us both by God and by our fellow men.

As many as received them, He gave them the power to become the sons of God. To receive "Him" is to receive all flesh, for this is what He took on in the Incarnation. The Incarnation is the divine sign of our vocation to the whole physical and spiritual world, to the whole world of man. When we celebrate our Christmas, then, this is what we rejoice in, in the union of nature with man, in the warmth and love we have for one another because, with Christ present as a child among us, we have the certitude that our human enterprises and efforts are meaningful, worthwhile.

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End of the Session

GREGORY BAUM

IN THE LAST report I noted that Cardinals Ottaviani and Browne, President and Vice-President of the Theological Commission, had been accused of considering themselves judges of the bishops assembled in the Council. Since the two cardinals did not defend themselves but, by their speeches, seemed to confirm the accusation, it was generally expected that some action would have to be taken by the presidential authorities of the Council. Yet nothing happened.

Pope Paul had encouraged the bishops to express their views on curial reform, and had specifically invited them to ask for the creation of an apostolic council or senate of bishops to sit with himself, the Pope. Following these encouragements the bishops drew up proposals and petitions, passed them around for signatures, and sent these documents with long lists of names attached to them to the Pontiff. On the day when Cardinals Frings and Ottaviani had their public conflict, the Moderator who seemed to be speaking in the name of the Pope, Cardinal Lercaro, suggested the creation of a new committee which was to draft a brief text on the relationship of bishops to the pope and on an apostolic council which would give expression to this relationship. Such an *ad hoc* committee would have bypassed the Theological Commission in which progress was retarded by the chairman's opposition to collegiality.

Yet despite these rather official encouragements and the expectation of the bishops nothing happened. From this procedural point of view the Council entered into a period of frustration. Why was there no response to these petitions? It is difficult to find an explanation. There were, of course, many rumors.

At this time the Council began to discuss the schema on ecumenism. This schema, prepared by the Secretariat for Christian Unity, was made up of five chapters. The first three dealt with the ecumenical movement among Christian Churches, Chapter 4 with the relation of the Jewish people to the Catholic Church, and Chapter 5 with the doctrine of religious liberty. The discussion of the first few days treated the schema in general. This was the proper procedure. After a general discussion a vote had to be taken to determine whether the schema submitted to the Council was acceptable as a basis for further discussion.

The general discusssion revealed that on the whole the bishops were strongly in favor of ecumenism. Opposition was voiced only in connection with the last two chapters. The Patriarchs of the East living in Arab countries expressed their fears that the chapter on Israel and the Church, though purely doctrinal and religious, would be interpreted by the Arab world as a political document supporting the State of Israel, and hence might provoke reprisals against the Christian minorities. They asked the Council not to publish the declaration. The objection of these Patriarchs and some other bishops also went against the idea of treating the Jews in a schema on ecumenism, i. e., on the movement for Christian unity. What do the Jews have to do with this problem? Should one not find another place for a condemnation of anti-Semitism?

To prevent political misunderstandings, the Secretariat for Christian Unity had made public a statement on Chapter 4, explaining its origin and significance. This statement was printed in full in the New York *Times*. It is worth pointing out that the Eastern prelates did not disagree with the content of Chapter 4. They raised the objections to please their governments, but once they had done this and cleared their own position at home, they had no basic opposition to this doctrinal clarification of the relationship of the Jews to the Church of Christ.

The content of the brief chapter is in no way controversial. It tells the story of the Church's foundation in Israel. The Church was prepared by the patriarchs and prophets; it was founded by Jesus and built upon the apostles. It was thus within the people of Israel that the Church came to be. Jesus, Mary, and the Master's disciples were all Jews. For this reason it is absurd to pin responsibility for the death of Jesus on the whole Jewish people, or even the Jewish people living in Judea at the time. It is, moreover, most unjust to attribute to the Jews of our day a stigma derived from the events of Jesus' death. On the contrary, we know from the Scriptures that despite their unwillingness to accept Jesus as saviour, the Jews remain linked to the Church by the bond of a common destiny, and because of our common heritage they always remain our brothers according to the promises. The

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chapter condemns persecution of and contempt for the Jews, and encourages Christians to seek to understand and love their Jewish neighbors.

Why was this chapter placed into the schema on ecumenism? The reasons are theological. The people of Israel belong irrevocably to the history of salvation; and we cannot understand the mystery of the Church, her pilgrimage on earth, the divisions she must suffer, and the perfect unity which is her destiny on the last day, without taking into consideration the mystery of Israel.

Chapter 5 on religious liberty is a more difficult question. If the chapter had simply asserted that in our pluralistic society of today, we must affirm the principle of religious liberty, perhaps not a single voice would have objected. However the chapter is doctrinal: it teaches that religious liberty is a good given by God to man created in His image, which good the teaching of Christ illumines in a special way. Religious liberty, therefore, is a good to be announced and defended by the Church whatever the sociological or political situation in which she finds herself. The chapter is not a legal document which the Council should send to various governments of the world, insisting that religious liberty be given to all citizens, nor is it a document establishing natural-law principles for the free exercise of religion, though these principles are mentioned. The chapter is the answer to the question addressed to the Catholic Church: "What do you believe about religious liberty?"

THE CHAPTER proposes a theological understanding of what man is: his destiny is spiritual; he is called to a magnificent adventure; he is destined to seek his Creator and be united to Him in a community of other men, and this is possible only in the free commitment of the heart in faith, which demands the free exercise of religion and the right of associating with others of the same religious faith and of forming a corporation with them in society; no government can restrict this freedom, because it is God-given; limitations may be imposed on this liberty, if the exercise of religion violates the public order and the freedom of other citizens.

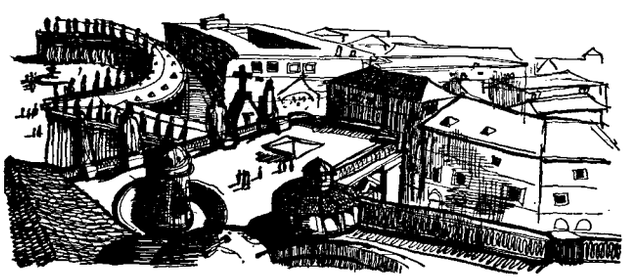
This doctrine is not based on the old Catholic approach of objective and subjective rights, which concedes to people in error only a *subjective* right to preach their faith; objectively they have no such right, and a Catholic government could restrict or extinguish their freedom. The authors of the chapter, on the other hand, hold the position that since government is incapable of determining what is true and false in the sphere of religion, all men have an objective right to practice their religion in society.

After discussing the schema on ecumenism in general, a vote was taken whether Chapters 1 to 3 are a good basis of discussion. It was announced that *within a few days* a vote would be taken on Chapters 4 and 5 as to whether they are an adequate basis for discussion. Why this unusual separation? There were good reasons for this. The opposition against the schema on ecumenism had concentrated on Chapters 4 and 5, and hence if there had been a vote on the five chapters together, the voice in favor of ecumenism as such would have been weakened. This calculation was true, since the vote on Chapters 1 to 3 showed that an overwhelming majority of bishops supported the movement for Christian unity. Only about eighty of the votes cast were negative.

The subsequent discussion of Chapters 1 to 3 demonstrated that the bishops of the Catholic Church really believe that the ecumenical movement has been the fruit of the Holy Ghost and that, even if there are some dangers, such as indifferentism or confusion among the faithful, the movement for unity must be fostered. St. Peter's rang again with speeches of great power. The bishops knew, of course, that the perfect reconciliation of the Christian churches is an ideal hidden far in the future, but they judged it of paramount importance that we do everything to foster mutual understanding and charity, expand and emphasize the common heritage (without compromise, of course), seek greater cooperation, and try to give a common witness to our Christian faith before a world that does not believe.

Archbishop Heenan, who had spoken rather hesitantly about ecumenism two months before, in connection with a paragraph of the schema *De Ecclesia*, now came out, in the name of the whole English hierarchy, with a powerful speech favoring dialogue and greater ecumenical understanding in England. American and Canadian bishops took an active part in the discussion. Strong ecumenical appeals came from South American cardinals and bishops. The Spanish hierarchy was divided on the issue. While a few bishops were rather cautious and warned the assembly of the possible dangers, other Spanish bishops defended the new ecumenical approach and the renewal of the Church, to which ecumenism gives rise, as an urgent necessity for our age.

The discussion on Chapters 1 to 3 continued, and nothing was said about the scheduled vote on Chapters 4 and 5. We were getting quite worried. We knew that for years there had been the strongest opposition from



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certain curial circles against the document on liberty. Twice it had been decided to publish the document, once by the Central Preparatory Commission and once by the Coordinating Commission between the two sessions, but for some inexplicable reason the document never got into print. It was only thanks to the pressure of the American bishops that the document was finally printed and distributed to the Fathers.

Before the discussion of the schema on Ecumenism in general, Bishop de Smedt was able to read to the Council fathers a long report introducing Chapter 5 on religious liberty. This was a great day in St. Peter's. Everyone listened; no bishop walked in the halls or sipped coffee at the bar. The great orator announced in ringing tones that God had created man free and that the Church was sent to announce this freedom to the world. Most of the theological effort of this report consisted in showing that the doctrine of religious liberty can be reconciled with the teaching of the popes of the last centuries who *seem* to have spoken against religious liberty. Bishop de Smedt applied the principle of doctrinal evolution to the subject at hand. Somewhere in the hall John Courtney Murray stood smiling happily.

But when there was no word about the votes, and time was running short, the smiles began to fade. It was announced that the commemoration of the Council of Trent would take place on Tuesday, December 3, thus reducing by one the number of days on which discussion was possible. This celebration was inserted late into the calendar. Bishop Helmsing of Kansas City, in his speech on ecumenism, raised the question of the promised voting before the whole congregation. "What prevents us from voting now?", he asked. But the Moderators did not reply.

ON THE LAST day Cardinal Bea spoke. He said that the reason why we cannot proceed with Chapters 4 and 5 is lack of time. This was true. There was no time for further discussion. But this did not answer the question of the votes. When a week ago it had been announced that the votes on Chapters 4 and 5 would take place "in the next few days," the Moderators must have judged the preceding discussion sufficient to justify a general vote. Why did they change their mind?

The problem is a grave one. Since the statutes of the Council did not foresee the splitting up of a schema by the Moderators, their action went beyond the provisions of the law and hence it is likely that they were commissioned by the Pope himself.

The reasons for this decision are not easy to find. It is certain that there was some pressure on the Pope by prelates of Italy and Spain against the chapter on religious liberty. In the context of Italian politics many purely religious and ecclesiastical matters take on political overtones. In the right-view Italian press a criticism of the Roman Curia in the Council and the suggestion that it be placed under an international apostolic council with the Pope are interpreted as a political gesture in favor of the left. Why? Because it seems that in Italy the Roman Curia has become the symbol of the anti-Communist block seeking to prevent a further opening to the left. In the same way a statement of religious liberty would be interpreted by many as an encouragement of the leftist parties who favor the separation of the Church from the Italian state. Even *Il Messagero,* a moderate-conservative paper, did not publish a word of Bishop de Smedt's long report on religious liberty.

ONE HESITATES to think that Pope Paul would fall prey to arguments of this kind. It is more likely that the Pope has been persuaded by some of his advisers that the zeal for the renewal of the Church has been excessive and that the insistence on episcopal collegiality was an attempt to belittle his own supreme power in the Church. The commemoration of the Council of Trent on December 3 was certainly a ceremony with the accent on papal primacy: Cardinal Urbani's speech at this occasion even contained a paragraph about the dangers of episcopalism. In the Pope's final address on the closing day of the Council, December 4, the words "collegiality" and "episcopal college" were avoided, even though over eighty percent of the bishops regard the supremacy of the world episcopate as a divine institution in the Church. Since the rediscovery of the ancient concept of collegiality has come about so quickly and since the Church of our day has so little practical experience of it, it seems reasonable to let this notion emerge more clearly in the minds of bishops and their theologians, and to introduce forms into the government of the Church through which the bishops will gain more experience in collaborating among themselves and with the Pope. The judgment on collegiality will then not be based simply on scriptural and historical testimonies, but also on certain concrete tendencies in the present life of the Church.

What will be the future of Chapters 4 and 5? Cardinal Bea announced that they will remain with the Secretariat for Christian Unity. But since they have not been voted upon, they are not, technically speaking, on the floor of the Council, and there may well be a movement to drop them altogether and replace them by brief paragraphs in Schema 17 on the Church's relationship to the world. In this case, we might expect a condemnation of anti-Semitism and a statement on religious liberty in a pluralistic society, leaving unsolved the deeper doctrinal questions raised in Chapters 4 and 5.

What is the achievement of the second session of Vatican II? From the viewpoint of doctrinal formulation little has been accomplished. The schema on the

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liturgy (which is excellent and will have a profound influence on Catholic life) and a brief exhortation on the use of mass media were promulgated by Pope Paul on December 4. But these were basically the work of the first session. The great achievement of this session was rather the growing unanimity among the Council Fathers. The Council has committed itself to renewal and reform, collegiality, the ecumenical movement and a new dialogue with the world.

The delay in the work of the second session is mainly due to the obstruction on the part of a tiny minority, whose influence is out of proportion to their number. Curial cardinals have chaired the various conciliar commissions, and until now they have been able to keep their position. But by no stretch of the imagination, can the Council be called divided: the unanimity among the bishops has been constantly growing. This was not only shown by the votes on collegiality and the sacramentality of episcopacy, but also by the vote on ecumenism and by the elections of new members for the Commissions shortly before the end of the Council.

For this reason then, even though there may be cause for some disappointment, there is no reason for discouragement. The bishops have been drawn by the Spirit into dialogue and friendship, they have discovered a new sense of responsibility, and they have been moved by the vision of Pope John to renew the Church and adapt it to the modern world in greater fidelity to Jesus Christ.

The Vatican Council

A Protestant Assessment

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

NEXT Wednesday, December 4, *Deo volente* and the Council fathers consenting, the Pope will promulgate the constitution *On the Sacred Liturgy* and the decree *On Instruments of Social Communication,* at the public session concluding the second session of Vatican II. These documents represent the two pieces of work that the Council Fathers have finished to date. I deliberately make my comments on them *before* the day of promulgation, while they are still technically unfinished business, not because I have any questions about the first of them, but because I have serious reservations about the second.

There is no difficulty in a Protestant's commenting appreciatively on the significance of the schema on the liturgy, which may well turn out to be the Council's most enduring contribution to the church of the future. Indeed, it has had such strong support from the Council Fathers, that one almost wonders if the liturgy commission could not have gotten more by asking for more. The principles of liturgical reform embodied within it were approved at the first session of the Council, and the subsequent chapters of the schema offered this fall are designed to spell out the details of reform in such areas as the Mass, the sacraments and sacramentals, the breviary, sacred music, sacred art, and so forth. Much greater use of the vernacular will become possible after the promulgation; much fuller participation of the laity in worship; increasing stress will be placed on Scripture and sermon; more occasions will be provided for concelebration and communion under both species; and greater adaptability to local situations will be possible, without having to clear every change in Rome. (May I add, not irreverently, that having spent ten weeks in the Eternal City, I see increasing reason why Catholics will rejoice at the last provision?)

The constitution will make official in the teaching of the church many of those things which even a decade ago were considered very avant garde indeed, whereas in reality they are only recoveries of authentic liturgy that had been lost during the centuries. I offer a fascinating Ph.D. research project to anyone wishing to pick it up. This would consist in going through the files of *Worship* (and as it was formerly called, *Orate Fratres*), to discover how many of the noble battles fought within those pages are battles no more, but are now incorporated within the solemn definition of a church council. I may wish to comment at a later time on details of the constitution, but I am quite prepared to risk the generalization that its impact is going to have a significant effect on the inner life of Catholicism and (in these ecumenical days when what one of us does affects all the rest) redound to the consequent enrichment of the whole of Christendom.

I wish I could speak as glowingly about the second item on Wednesday's agenda, the proposed decree *On*

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Instruments of Social Communication. But, unfortunately, this bit of finished business is of a very different sort. By an extreme gesture of good will, I can muster up a feeling that the decree is banal and innocuous, unoriginal and obvious. I cannot feel that it is a document worthy of a church council, particularly as the culmination of two years of work, and I am relieved that I, at least, need not defend its contents as somehow having been produced under the guidance and supervision of the Holy Ghost. I am afraid that the world, reading this document, is going to say, "This is *aggiornamento*? This is bringing the church up to date? If so, we've placed our expectations much too high."

BUT THAT is not the end of the matter. If the schema were merely platitudinous, that could be tolerated, perhaps. The further difficulty, however, is that it also contains many statements that are susceptible to quite devastating implications. Not everyone will read it with "an extreme gesture of good will." They will read it at face value and find lurking just below its surface, and sometimes right on the surface, the kind of implications with which anti-Catholics will have a field day. Not many people will read the liturgy constitution in its entirety, because it is long and because it is concerned with the inner life of Catholicism. But many people will read the communications decree, because it is short and because it is very much concerned with the world in which they live. These people will not be too impressed by the thought that perhaps before long more of the canon is going to be said aloud, but they will be all too impressed by the thought that the Catholic Church wants to throw its weight around in the mass communications field.

As an exercise in exegesis, I have tried to read the schema from the point of view of one who wonders what it might mean to the ordinary man, particularly if he is a non-Catholic. And I cannot avoid drawing the following implications from it:

a) *All* people who use instruments of mass communications must meet the church's standards as to what a "correct conscience" is (whether they are Catholics or not), or fear the consequences.

b) News can be censored if it does not edify, and art can be suppressed if it does not teach.

c) Novels or plays that do not at all times teach a particular and precise kind of moral rectitude are inadmissible.

d) The opinion of competent authorities must be sought by those who read, watch and hear, lest they read, watch and hear the wrong things—a notion that implies the rights of censorship, boycott and reprisals.

e) The task of the church is to protect and insulate youth from all possible contamination in the area of mass media, rather than to help youth develop criteria for making their own discriminating judgments.

f) Reporting of news about the church must not be critical.

g) Civil authorities must legislate widely in the field of the morals of mass communications.

h) Catholics should be encouraged to develop a cultural ghetto of Catholic press, Catholic radio, Catholic television, and so forth, rather than making it their primary task to raise the general level of all the mass communications media.

i) All that Catholics do in the field of mass communications should be under the strict supervision of church authorities.

I have discussed these points with a great many people at the Council. They agree that such implications can be drawn, sometimes very directly, sometimes indirectly, from the text. Reactionary Catholic leaders are going to be able to use the decree to impose a type of control that will jeopardize Catholic creativity in the arts, let alone good community relations, and anti-Catholics, as I have already suggested, are going to find ample fuel for their recently dimming fires.

HOW DID this all come about? The general impression one gets is that the schema simply didn't receive much attention. It was discussed briefly last year directly after the stormy debate on the "Two Sources of Revelation," and was thus a kind of change of pace in conciliar proceedings. It was approved in principle, to be shortened considerably and returned at the second session for a vote. As a result, the radically shortened schema has received *no discussion whatsoever* at the present session. An observer has the impression that the Council Fathers simply didn't bother too much about it, feeling that it was not particularly significant. It was not until a couple of amendments had been voted, and the Fathers really began to study it, that significant opposition to its passage began to emerge. So although the schema was not discussed on the floor of the Council it began to be avidly discussed in the coffee bars.

Many of those who finally got around to reading it carefully found it more and more disturbing. A group of Catholic journalists issued a statement urging rejection of the schema, and got approval from some very impressive Catholic theologians. A group of twenty-six bishops issued a memorandum outside St. Peter's on the morning of the vote, urging the Council fathers to defeat the schema, since passage of it would call the authority of the Council into question in the eyes of the rest of the world.

All of these moves (which I as an observer was silently, and sometimes not so silently, cheering on) proved to be of no avail, however, for the schema received more than the requisite two-thirds vote. Nevertheless, be it said to their eternal credit, 503 of the fathers voted *non placet*. Part of the pressure for the schema's passage (so great that Archbishop Felici tried

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to grab the anti-schema plea out of the hands of a German bishop) was the feeling that the Council should have something done before adjournment in addition to the liturgy schema. Something has been done, all right, but it is not something of which the church is going to be particularly proud. I have never felt more "involved" in the Council than I did on the days before the vote, arguing with *periti* and even with bishops that the Council could say to the world, "We prefer not to speak at all unless we can speak well. We prefer to wait rather than to be premature. We prefer to think more rather than to speak hastily." But these hopes, which were shared by at least 503 other persons in St. Peter's, came to naught.

What, then, is to be done with the decree? I have cited some of the reactions it is sure to evoke, in the hope that Catholics will muster their forces to demonstrate that there are better things to be said about the church and modern communications than the decree says. I realize also that the Council is far from over, and that many other things will be said that will put the communications decree in the background rather than the foreground of Conciliar achievements. In the long sweep of the Council, the communications decree will be decently buried by the more important conciliar actions on the church, collegiality, ecumenism, religious liberty, and the laity. But meanwhile, the face of the church will, I hope, appear ever so slightly embarrassed.

The Vatican Council

Grounds for Hope

JOHN COGLEY

AS WE WATCHED the ceremonies at Saint Peter's marking the end of the second session of the Ecumenical Council, with its historic proclamation of the revolutionary liturgical constitution, my thoughts turned—as I am sure the thoughts of many others did—to those pioneers of the liturgical movement whose day of triumph it was. Not many years ago, at least in the United States, the liturgists, or litniks as the wags here in Rome have been calling them, were few in number and weak in influence. But what they lacked in numbers and authority, they made up for in persistence and enthusiasm. Not too many years ago they were widely regarded as eccentrics and cranks, with their talk of lay participation, the vernacular, the Service of the Word, and all the rest. They were charged with being crypto-Protestants, dangerous innovators, and boat-rockers. In some dioceses and religious orders, sympathy for the movement was interpreted as a sign of a potential troublemaker, and there were those who read *Orate Fratres* (now *Worship*) only behind closed doors. The little pro-vernacular publication with the unvernacular title of *Amen* had to cease publication a couple of years ago, and many times over the years men like Father H. A. Reinhold, one of the sturdiest warriors of them all, had to explain themselves to lesser men.

When the official vote was announced in Saint Peter's approving the liturgical schema (with only four Council fathers dissenting) and the Pope proclaimed the new constitution, these pioneers were vindicated—and a new day dawned for the liturgical and sacramental life of the Church. Everything the earlier untouchables had worked for, and more, had been affirmed by the highest ecclesiastical authority. It was a time, then, to give thanks for the unsung heroes, the priests, religious and laity, who, against odds, had worked so tirelessly that this moment might one day come to pass. Many of them of course have long gone to their reward, but there were a number at Saint Peter's today who lived long enough to see the fulfillment of their hopes. One wanted to crown them with garlands.

Oddly enough, very shortly after the Fathers in Council voted overwhelmingly for the liturgical schema late last month, the Americans in Rome were given a dramatic example of why liturgical reform is most desirable. The day after President Kennedy's death, a requiem Mass was offered for him at the Church of Saint Susanna, the American Church. The Mass was attended by a large number of Bishops and *periti* attending the Council, most of them American. It was celebrated by an American Cardinal. In the congregation were hundreds of Americans who found themselves in Rome and who felt, on this sad occasion, an extraordinary sense of community and kinship. It would be hard to imagine a more solemn occasion or one in which active congregational participation in the Mass would seem more appropriate. But the Mass was inaudible to most of the congregation. The great gather-

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ing of American bishops in the Church sat as silent as clams throughout this solemn memorial to their President. The only sound in the church came from a professional choir singing ornate, inappropriate music. As the disappointed congregation left the church, one heard time and again that the awaited liturgical reform was coming none too soon.

The second proclamation at the closing of the second session of the Council was not as widely accepted or enthusiastically hailed as the liturgical constitution. Only a week or so ago some five hundred of the Fathers had voted against the communications schema, and though the dissenters were not so numerous in the final voting today, their number was still considerable.

The fact is that the communications schema was never given the care and attention that might have been expected. The debate on it was cursory and it never received the wholehearted study that other schemata received or the study that some laymen—I count myself among them—thought it deserved. As late as yesterday, one of the most prominent American *periti* publicly dismissed it as not worth making a fuss about, and others proclaimed that it was so general and cliché-ridden that, though it would not do much good, it could not do much harm, either.

I was one of three American journalists—Robert Kaiser of *Time* and Michael Novak, who is free-lancing for a number of publications, were the others—who prepared a statement a few weeks ago which enumerated certain shortcomings of the schema as it then was formulated. Of course there was nothing official about our statement. It was neither solicited nor inspired by any fourth person. Rather, it was merely the opinion of three Catholic laymen with experience in the field of modern communications who happened to find themselves in Rome and who believed that the schema could be improved immeasurably. Four prominent *periti*—Fathers John Courtney Murray, S.J., Jean Daniélou, S.J., Bernard Häring, C.Ss.R., and Jorge Meija—added a footnote to our text, suggesting that our statement was worthy of the Fathers' consideration. Some of the Fathers seemed to be impressed by our objections and welcomed it as a matter of lay initiative, while others rejected it as sheer impertinence and unseemly interference.

In any case, the schema was passed at the preliminary voting and again at the official proclamation this morning. Time will tell whether it is as inadequate as we thought it was, as innocuous as some of those who voted halfheartedly for it thought it was, or as pertinent and relevant to the needs of the times as its enthusiastic supporters claimed it was.

THESE two constitutions, being the only tangible outcome of the second session of the Council, do not seem to add up to a significant accomplishment in the minds of some students of the Council. The spade work for the liturgical constitution was done last year, they point out. The communications constitution was barely debated. And those issues which provided the real excitement of this session, like collegiality, terminal deacons, the place of the Jews, and, above all, religious liberty were put off for later sessions. "Do you feel that you are going home emptyhanded?" a reporter asked one prominent American bishop. The Bishop was delighted with the liturgical schema and said that it itself was enough to satisfy both him and his people; he didn't need anything else. I heard a well known American journalist, on the other hand, say bitterly that this second session added up to a "big fat zero."

But it seems more reasonable to me to believe that the Council moves at its own pace, which is the natural and proper one, even though it may at times seem exasperatingly slow. It is of course time-consuming and expensive to carry the meetings on and on this way, but who is to say what is accomplished and precisely when? Just getting so many bishops of the Church together to debate issues of great moment is itself of prime importance. They are teaching not only us but each other and their experience in Rome, in a special sense, is catholicizing their churches.

It is this process of lower-case catholicizing which seems to me to account for the dominance of the liberal or progressive school of thought. Every now and then, in the course of the Council proceedings, a die-hard conservative Father would deliver himself of a straight catechetical formula remembered from an old seminary class. The impact of such interventions was invariably slight, certainly not because the assembled bishops were cool to orthodoxy but rather because they saw quickly, after their united experience, the shallowness and pointlessness of irrelevance, even when it was piously worded.

One of the younger American bishops, apparently exasperated by such interventions, spoke up one day during the discussion of ecumenism to remark that the Fathers did not need catechisms lessons on the "*Tu es Petrus*" theme but would like some wisdom on how to deal with the real-live Protestant Christians he has known all his life—and, he added, apparently some of his brother-bishops had never actually met a living Protestant. The Bishop's intervention was deemed an example of American brashness by some, but even more welcomed such candor.

By and large, the American bishops at this second session of the Council were second to none. Last year, it was commonplace to say that the brick-and-mortar hierarchy of the United States were over their heads in trying to deal with the theological issues of the Council. That may have been true last year. It certainly does not seem to be so this year. With a few exceptions, the bishops of the United States have been

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a force for all the progressive trends of the Council. For example, their joint statement on racial prejudice early in the session was magnificent, and, to a man I believe, they solidly favored the full proclamation on religious liberty. Their ecumenical spirit, though it was late in coming, is admirably attuned now not only to the new theology but to the American character. If they lack anything, it is initiative and daring, but that too may come as their confidence grows. And it is growing. The American bishops may in fact be the greatest asset the progressives of the Council have for the third session and any others that are to come.

From Dollinger to Vatican II

A Century Too Soon?

JOHN COULSON

IN THIS "dangerous and untidy" age, as President Kennedy called it, it is hard to remain optimistic, harder still for the laity to resist treating the daily reports from the Council like communiqués from the front line, allowing our hopes to rise and fall, as if the Council were a battle and we were the helpless non-combatants behind the line, waiting against hope for the inevitable counterattack. The best antidote to this kind of faintheartedness is to move back in history, and to see the Council in the context of the Church of the nineteenth century; since it was then that the problems with which this Council is faced were first rehearsed in a recognizably contemporary form.

A hundred years ago, for example, the Congress at Munich was organized by Dr. Ignaz Döllinger, then at the height of his powers as Professor of Church History at Munich, and the driving force of the liberal Catholic movement in Germany. The Congress was attended by nearly a hundred professors, authors and doctors of divinity; it held seven meetings on four successive days from September 28 to October 1, 1863; and it was hailed by Lord Acton as marking "the dawn of a new era."

Döllinger's aims were simple and excellent; yet he failed; and to try to understand the reasons for his failure is to see why the present Council had to come, and why—with the force of historical inevitability—it will succeed.

Döllinger intended the Congress to be the first of a series of meetings which, by healing the internal dissensions of Catholic scholars, might help to create a faculty of theology in Germany comparable to that of the Sorbonne and capable of producing divines of the type of Petavius, Bossuet and Arnauld. He believed that the seminaries produced excellent priests but no scholars, and that unless priests could receive a university education they would fall into a social seclusion and lose all influence over the male part of the population.

The Congress elected Döllinger to be its president; and his inaugural address on the history, condition and duties of Catholic theology was the outstanding contribution. It anticipates with remarkable topicality many of the key issues now confronting the Council. He began by facing squarely the fact of Germany's political and theological disunity: the union of Germany, he said, is the union of all Churches; but this can only be brought about if the conflict between religious authority and freedom of scientific inquiry is resolved. The rights of reason and science among Catholics must be adequately defined.

To say this was to strike at the heart of the divisions then existing within German theology. The chief schools were, on the one hand, at Mainz, which was fierce for the temporal and spiritual rights of the Holy See, the full rigor of the *Index*, and the zealous observance of a strict scholasticism. At the other extreme was the school at Tübingen, which by applying Hegelian dialectic to the study of religion had produced philosophers like Johann Adam Möhler, that pioneer in the theory of the development of doctrine. Its extreme members asserted a radical separation of theology from religion, and revelation from reason. The school at Munich tended to occupy, in the country as it did at the Congress, a central position. Its emphasis was upon the study of ecclesiastical history—a subject which in those days was regarded by conservatives with great suspicion.

Nearly one third of the membership of the Congress came from Munich. The other schools sent either their second team, or eminent scholars who preserved "an obstinate silence" and showed "a disappointing taciturnity." The mood of the Congress is hard to gauge, therefore; but one notices the obtrusive presence of that

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lunatic fringe which always tends to dominate a conference that is not too sure of itself. There were, for example, Dr. Eberhard who was "always on his legs, and heard with much impatience," and the impervious Dr. Michelis, who "strode about like a giant athlete, interrupting the speeches of his opponents."

AGAINST THIS background, Döllinger's exposition must indeed have shone like the invitation to a new day —brilliant, but disquieting. For the renewal of theology he posted three conditions: Catholic divines must answer their adversaries in their own language, and "by using all the means which the progress of the age supplies." Then, by separating what is "transitory, foreign and accidental" from what is essential in Catholic doctrine, theologians must present that doctrine "in all its organic completeness," recognizing as they did so that the very effort required was itself "a valuable contribution to our self-knowledge." Lastly, theology must give to the Church "the property of the magnetic mountain in the fable, that drew to itself all the iron in the ship, so that the ship fell to pieces." By examining all that "the separated communities have brought to light" and by sifting truth from error, Catholic theologians should then frankly accept and claim these new aspects of the truth "as the legitimate though unrecognized property of the one true Church."

Of this theological renewal Germany was the rightful home, "since no nation has cultivated so successfully the sciences which are the eyes of theology, *viz.*, history and philosophy." Döllinger's address concludes with the plea that truth should be refined in the fire of contradiction: "the presence of different systems is not an evil, but an advantage: freedom is as necessary to science as air to life." Then follows the distinction which his opponents were to repudiate so forcibly: "A real dogmatic error against the clear and universal teaching of the Church must be pointed out and retracted; but a purely theological error must be assailed only with the resources of scientific discussion." Errors of this latter kind must be refuted on their own grounds or not at all: "in theology it is only through error that truth is attained."

Acton's account of the Congress, from which these quotations are taken, can so easily be paraphrased into current ecumenical jargon that one is almost surprised to find no mention of dialogue, or the need to abandon triumphalism, clericalism and juridicism. The spirit is there; the language grows stronger as the century advances. Döllinger's thesis seems to go to the heart of what the Second Vatican Council has so dramatically illustrated—that the Church must see itself not as permanently at rest, but in movement between poles that have been variously described as reactionary and progressive, curial and episcopal, or—in the words of Father Edward Schillebeeckx—essentialist and existentialist.

An essentialist position is adopted by those who, like the theologians of Mainz, conceive the deposit of faith to be a series of hard, very clear and very tight, abstract formulations which leave little room for interpretation, and which—like the gold bars stored at Fort Knox—go to make up the gold standard or *essence* of the faith. Yet, as Pope John reminded the Council in his inaugural address, the *depositum fidei* is one thing, the way in which it is expressed is another. And in our open society where the renewal of Christendom, in the sense of a godly rule imposed upon the common man, is not only unlikely but probably unlawful, the image of the Church as a kind of medieval safe deposit heavily fortified with siege artillery is as irrelevant today as a Gothic railway station or the overrated fortifications of the Maginot Line.

The schools of Tübingen and Munich took their stand with those who today would be accounted existentialists, who wish the Church (without sacrificing its doctrinal integrity) to *exist* more fully within the world, not as that world ought to be, but as it is. They accept the open society, not as second best to a revived Christendom, but as the inevitable and desirable starting point, in which—to quote Whitehead—"a clash of doctrines is not a disaster—it is an opportunity"—an opportunity for Catholics to express the fullness of their faith more effectively. That a massive majority of the Council Fathers proved to be, in this sense, existentialist, was first discovered when the vote was taken for reforming the liturgy in the first session.

In 1863, however, Döllinger's existentialist program heralded not the dawn of a new era, but the reverse. Too much in advance of its time, it was, as Acton said, like arguing the temporal power at Turin. In spite of a telegram of good wishes sent by the Congress to Pius IX, the papal reply came in the following March in the form of a brief to the Archbishop of Munich. It has produced some celebrated epitaphs.

BY RE-EMPHASIZING the need for an entire obedience to the decrees of the Roman congregations, the brief affirmed that the common opinions and explanations of Catholic divines ought not to yield to the progress of secular sciences, and the course of theological knowledge ought to be controlled by the decrees of the *Index*. Although the distinction between dogma and opinion was not denied, its recognition was reduced to the smallest possible limits; and Acton saw that on such terms the *Home and Foreign Review* could no longer be published. The brief, therefore, brought to an end the most advanced piece of lay Catholic journalism the English-speaking world had yet produced.

Newman made an annotated translation of the brief, and came to the same conclusion; and he noticed that at the crucial passages the language was least exact, as the following extract shows (his annotations are in brackets):—"all Catholics are bound in conscience in

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studying the *contemplatrices scientiae* [the theories of science?] for the good of the Church . . . to submit themselves to the doctrinal decisions of the Pontifical congregations, and to those theological verities, which, by the consent of Catholics, cannot be opposed without incurring theological censure [N.B. Is this the case of Galileo?]."

Newman's answer was that the brief went even further, by insisting that it was not enough for the theologian to stick to his subject and the scientist to his; instead, the Catholic scientist ought to keep theological conclusions before him in treating his science. If this were so, there was no alternative but "simply to be silent," while scientific investigation proceeded in other and non-Catholic hands.

WHY DID a movement which aimed at opening up the dialogue of reason and religion, the world and the Church, succeed in provoking measures to close it down? The answer is soon found. The divisions within the Church were then so acute that although a majority might have been found within the Congress to support the extreme Tübingen position and oppose even the dogmatic, and to us, legitimate exercise of papal power, the majority outside would have sided with the theologians of Mainz and wished to see spiritual and temporal authority extended to record intensities.

Döllinger's own attitude to history was itself a stumbling-block to such philosophers of religion as Möhler of Tübingen, who thought that he tended to reduce the Church too much to its political aspect. Even Acton noted that Döllinger deemed it Catholic to take ideas from history, but heresy to take them into it; and he seems to have believed in the possibility of a "pure" Church history freed from all presuppositions. And in admiring the brilliance and rightness of his inaugural address, we tend to overlook the criticism that he was passing off a minority view, as if its orthodoxy were self-evident. It is surely ironic that Döllinger should have failed to learn from history what Bismarck—who did succeed in uniting Germany—revealed to Napoleon III at Biarritz: "One must not make events; one must wait for them to happen." Nor can the participants be entirely exonerated from the charge that they were insufficiently aware of the sheer depth of the issues involved—as can be seen from a rumor current in Munich that the great struggle between reason and faith had been ended by a definitive pronouncement reached by the principals at a private meeting.

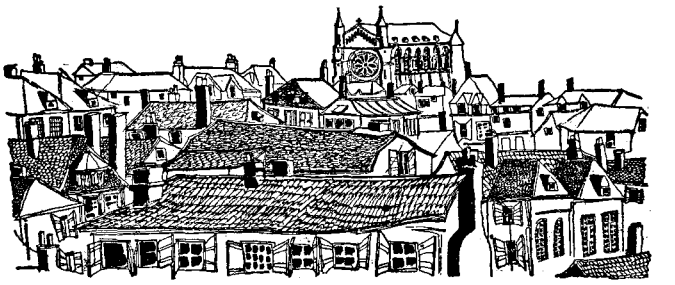
But over the whole Congress lay the shadow of a problem that could only be settled by an ecumenical council: What was the authority of the pope? Was he, as Pius IX appears to have believed, the sole witness to tradition, or were there definable limits to the exercise of his authority?

The First Vatican Council, some seven years later, had to come; but even when it did there were many who still believed the time to be unripe—"thunder out of a clear sky" is how Newman described the announcement. Sectarian divisions were deepening; so, in some countries, was hostility between Church and State. The Bishop of Birmingham, Bernard Ullathorne, noted that there were still too many men who believed that the sufferings occasioned by industrial development could be cured by fixed and hard ideas pushed to their furthest extreme, and that the actual creatures of this world were spirits living on fixed ideas and devoid of disturbing elements; while the Bishop of Savannah, Georgia, complained that the council was concerning itself too much with the errors of obscure German idealists: it would be more to the purpose, he said, to condemn the theory that Negroes have no souls.

But, as in 1863, so in 1870—these were the voices of a minority. No sooner had the Council pronounced the pope, in exercising the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, to be infallible, than the French army withdrew from Rome, the victorious Italian nationalists poured in, and the Pope became a prisoner in the Vatican. It was inevitable that, in default of a definition of the complementary authority of bishops, power would pass into the hands of those who, appointed to administer the pope's delegated authority, would gradually form an interlocking oligarchy—the officials of the Roman curia.

In England, especially, Catholic scholarship became subjected to the censorship of Propaganda. "And who is Propaganda?," Newman had asked. "Virtually one sharp man of business, who works day and night, and dispatches his work quick off, to the East and the West . . . a quasi-military power with a preference for quick results and the scalps of beated foes."

From this background emerged a view of later Church history only recently refuted by events: that the essentialist position was impregnable, that existentialists could not survive in the corridors of power, and that very little could be expected of the present council. Nourished by such events as the delayed condemnation of *L'Action Française* and the trigger-happy attacks on Hans Küng, this view now seems to have been derived from too exclusive an attention to events within the Church—itself an effect of the dominant essentialism—so that what was abundantly clear to Pope John was



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less so to many of his supporters: that events outside the Church bear inevitably upon the Church. Necessity knows no law: hence his optimism, and hence our ability to share it, since it was grounded not upon personalities or parties, but upon those facts of history overlooked by theologians and others preoccupied by purely internal ecclesiastical trends.

I refer especially to the two great wars which separate the First Vatican Council from the Second, and which have probably had more effect upon the theological opinions of the faithful than any amount of talk. Christians have insisted upon finding reality in religion not through books and congresses but through the mud of Passchendaele and the gas chambers of Auschwitz. The dead of both world wars—half a million at Passchendaele alone, six hundred thousand at Verdun—are the silent witnesses to the deeds of this Council.

A YEAR or so ago, it was my privilege to live for a few days with some of the bishops and theologians who are setting the pace in Rome at the moment. They spoke of their days under the Nazis and in forced labor camps as marking a turning point, not only in their religious life, but in the life of Europe as a whole. They struck me not as party men, but pastors who knew their duty towards the dead and to the living, and were determined to discharge it. Some of them were men who, in Wilfrid Owen's words, had been frozen alive with dead men for comforters. As prisoners of the Nazis, or as soldiers they too had heard the anthem for doomed youth, and the passing bells for those who die as cattle. To label such men, when they speak in the Council, merely as "progressives" is to diminish their testimony. And it is against their witness and that of the Church of Silence behind the Iron Curtain that we must measure the words of the auxiliary bishop of Lyons—that the Catholic Church must approach the modern world not as the masters but as the servants of Truth, not to be served but to serve.

Such men were not present in 1863. How could they be? In the ears of Döllinger's opponents and of most of his contemporaries, the sounds of the imminent collapse of all the tremendous sureties on which they rested must have sounded—if they sounded at all—like the distant tinkling of an alpine waterfall.

Today our attitudes to authority have changed; and we have learned one of Döllinger's lessons: that to settle problems merely by the application of authority settles nothing, and brings authority itself into question. It would be unthinkable now for anyone to assert, as did some of the men of 1870, that the parliamentary system rests on an heretical principle, or that America is a country in which there exists a too unrestricted freedom. Not even the attrition of the Western Front could be gone through again—hence, perhaps, our interest in the men who could endure it. As Christians we are all of us committed to the reverse of an authoritarian society; and in discovering that commitment, we are learning to distinguish the superseded *politique* of Christendom from the developing social pattern of the Mystical Body of Christ. It is no coincidence, therefore, that the men who have made most impact upon the Council are either scholars with open minds, like Cardinal Bea or Abbot Butler of Downside, or those bishops and archbishops—usually from the great metropolitan areas—who are most fully alive to that society and its demands.

If Christendom, in the medieval sense, cannot come again, and if the Church is willing to exist fully and joyfully in a world in which its laity are the governors, not as laity, but as citizens, then the time is more than ripe for much of what the Munich Congress wished to see established, and especially for the integration of Catholic theology into the studies of an open university. Laymen, as well as clergy, would benefit from pursuing further religious studies in the same place, in the same manner, and alongside their professional studies. There is much to be said for the positive view that a spiritual man grows best amid the open institutions of a free country, and that Catholics are as much, if not more, concerned than their fellow citizens, not only to safeguard, but to use the rights and liberties of their country and its institutions.

BUT SUCH is our condition and our need that we must be prepared to move beyond Döllinger's program. He came to the right answers too soon; but we are liable to fight the heresies of the twentieth century with the weapons of the nineteenth. False prophets abound on the mass media and in the universities, and to meet them theology has to diversify its sources, going beyond the study of philosophy and history to that of literature and sociology, and requiring from laymen as well as priests a professional contribution. But above all, as Döllinger saw, theology in seeking to move into those places where the characteristics of our time are shaped —the universities—and in order to be at the heart of that dialogue, must do so as much for its own sake as for ours, since it is both bone and flesh, essence and existence. To paraphrase Döllinger, freedom is as necessary to theology as air to life.

It is possible that those who died in the slave camps and on the battlefields may have made the events that make this policy our duty. This may be the true dawn of a new era; yet, in the words of Cardinal Newman, "good is never done except at the expense of those who do it: truth is never enforced except at the sacrifice of its propounders." Have we enough courage and enough faith to produce Catholics capable as well as willing to follow the example of that great layman whose loss is mourned as bitterly in England as it is in his own country?

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THE STAGE

Vacuum-Packed Theater

THESE DAYS we are said to be the possessors of a "directors' theater," which is an accurate enough description once we have substituted "victims" for possessors. In the absence of real plays fake plays are produced; and in the absence of works of substance which compel a director to submit to them in order that he may discover their proper spirit and hence the means to elucidate it, a vacuum exists into which directors have rushed with a spirit of their own to replace that of the missing drama. There would be nothing fatal about this if the surrogate spirit were truly compensatory, equal to what is lacking, capable of creating on its own, the way Joan Littlewood has done with her inchoate or fragmentary scripts. But it is of course almost always a spirit of mere showmanship, expertise and the grosser theatrical values, no spirit at all, really, but an eye for effects and an ear cupped to the solicited and suborned audience.

Even still, the evil would be tolerable because circumscribed, if it were not for the fact that on the rare occasions when something original and strong does manage to reach the commercial theater that directorial blight falls on it with ineluctable precision. The fate of Brecht on Broadway this past year is all the evidence we need. But off-Broadway, where we have always assumed the pressures to be not so great and where therefore personal vision and fidelity to someone else's genius might be expected to flourish together, is coming to exhibit the same malady. Misdirection, incompetence we have always had; but what we have now is crime—direction that aggressively perverts or violates an established or a new but respectable text. For every William Ball there are seven David Ross's; for every director humble enough to listen to what a script is telling him about its potential materialization, there are a dozen whose own voices crowd out every other sound.

Peter Coe is a young Englishman whose reputation has apparently been built on his staging in London of such challenges to the directorial mind as "Oliver" and "The World of Suzie Wong." But he has also directed Oscar Wilde, Anouilh and Shakespeare, so that when the Phoenix Theatre hired him to stage James Saunders' "Next Time I'll Sing to You" they must have thought they were getting a shot at that rarest of parlays—popularity *and* art in the same package. For Saunders' play is art, flawed, clumsy, self-hectoring, without knowledge of how to effectuate its own beauties, of when to stop, how to begin again and what to omit, but art nevertheless, serious, intense and original.

Such a work requires a director of special openness and generosity. But Mr. Coe, as vivid an exemplar of the directors' theater as can be found, a young man of preternatural energy and insatiable self-consideration, could not have been a worse choice. He has taken Saunders' drama and draped it in his own ideas, which, moreover, are not ideas at all but impulses, tics, a set of gestures that mount up to a St. Vitus dance of theatrical obviousness and clamor. Saunders wrote an imperfect play of philosophical weight and intellectual thrust; in Coe's hands it becomes a perfect product of synthetic, modish calculation.

"Next Time I'll Sing to You" derives from a book about one Jimmy Mason, the Hermit of Great Canfield, Essex, who in his early forties shut himself up in a barricaded room and remained there until his death at 84 in 1942, having seen no-one but his brother who brought him food. He had had a brutal childhood, which seems to have sundered him from life, or rather made him into a living reproach to existence. Saunders examines the phenomenon as a way of investigating the deepest bases of identity, of social reality and of existential anguish.

He employs the Pirandello-like device of actors preparing a play about the hermit, the entire action taking place on a bare stage and the cast being composed of an author, a director and three performers. One of the latter is to play the hermit; goaded by the others to become more fully the character he is impersonating, he eventually goes further, merging with the hermit and presenting the others with that grotesque, appalling, opaque reality. As it shuttles between the hermit's childhood, as revealed in his diary and by reconstruction, and the present moment, the drama works steadily and incorruptibly, if sluggishly and with extensive patches of unclarity and overripeness, to its conclusion. "All I want is to understand the existence of one man," someone says, and in its irony, frequent sharpness and complex balancing of contrarieties, "Next Time I'll Sing to You" makes a partial understanding available.

Or it would make it available were it not for Mr. Coe's stultifying hand. For a play of language he has substituted a play of action—mindless, arbitrary, raucous action, his performers racing back and forth and up and down (to and from a catwalk above the stage), capering, screeching, insisting on the shockingness and *significance* of what they are doing. In this carnival almost nothing of Saunders' thought comes through; what does come through is James Earl Jones, an actor who needs a particularly tight rein, but who here, in the drama's crucial role—that of the author who serves as intellectual focus—is encouraged to run amok in a performance of breathtaking license and factitious bravado.

Several of the other performers do their best to struggle against the tide of directorial arrogance and perversity. William Needles is especially subtle and restrained as the hermit, and Estelle Parsons, a fine actress who seems perpetually to be cursed with directors who are vastly inferior to her, does a brilliant piece of

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work as a girl whose busy, unselfconscious normality is in extreme contrast with the hermit's self-absorption. But these performances are victories in the back streets; the main gates of the city have long since fallen. *(At the Phoenix)*

RICHARD GILMAN

THE SCREEN

Love on the Run

AT FIRST glance, it would seem that "Love with the Proper Stranger," with its young couple running through New York looking for an abortionist, is as unlikely as a Christmastime release as anything that could come along. But the film (made by producer Alan J. Pakula and director Robert Mulligan whose last work, "To Kill a Mockingbird," was such a heart-warming affair) has so much charm and good will that it is, in spite of its delicate subject matter, on the side of the angels.

"Love with the Proper Stranger" is a seriocomic picture; the serious parts are done in good taste, and the comedy scenes are a delight. It is established fairly early in the story that Angie, the pregnant girl, realizes how stupid was her impulsive, one-night affair with Rocky at a summer resort. Angie and Rocky haven't seen each other since then; and it is now autumn in New York as they chase through the streets hunting up the abortionist, trying to collect the necessary $450, and eluding Angie's solicitous and over-protective brothers. What is strange, perhaps, since both Angie and Rocky come from Italian-American families with Catholic backgrounds, is that they would consider abortion the solution to their problem. No doubt the panic and fright of the situation determine their thinking. Both, however, take marriage very seriously: Angie, because so many of her friends who married foolishly when young are divorced; Rocky, because he likes his freedom and casual love affairs and considers husbands as prisoners of Zenda. How they come to change their minds about the abortion is portrayed in a grim scene in a depressing apartment where a quack woman doctor prepares her instruments. Actually, I'm not giving away any secrets in telling that the young couple don't go through with the abortion. The film obviously has its heart in the right place and would be a travesty if the scared couple continued their plan.

Furthermore, the film has such genuine warmth and its cast is so good in developing its characters that the audience is with them and pulling for them through the somber scenes and the hilarious comedy episodes. Natalie Wood gives her best performance to date as Angie, the pretty salesgirl at Macy's who lives with her mother and three watchful brothers. She resents every moment at home with her possessive, bossy family, and, in spite of her mistakes, has some high ideals about life and getting away from her smothering relatives. Steve McQueen, in quite a different role from those he has been playing, comes through well as the loose-living Lothario who considers marriage a trap but still has some sense of responsibility and winds up almost as protective as Angie's brothers, but with much greater sense of humor.

The three brothers, led by Herschel Bernardi who is excellent as the eldest, are fun to watch but would be awful for a girl to live with. They and their mother (Penny Santon) supervise Angie's every move; and one wonders how on earth Angie ever got to that summer resort where she met Rocky. Her family is now pushing her in the direction of a nice Italian boy, delightfully played by Tom Bosley in his first movie and without a trace of his LaGuardia portrait in the musical "Fiorello." Rocky's parents, whom Rocky seldom sees and whom Angie meets on an eastside playground when the young couple are hunting for some money, are almost as solicitous as Angie's, but they certainly approve of her. The film does these Italian-Americans extremely well; and while, at first, they seem to do little more than bicker and carp, their real love and genuine concern soon begin to shine through. Although director Mulligan, who went to Fordham University, caught these people unusually well, it is surprising that he has not done more with their religious backgrounds, especially in the scenes showing Angie's home. Or is he hinting that Italian-Americans break away from Church influences?

On the whole, Mulligan's direction is lively and nicely balanced between the serious and funny scenes. Perhaps the scene in the upholstery workroom owned by Rocky's father is too long; but it gives the young couple an opportunity to get to know each other for the first time, and it also introduces the important theme song about marriage, about not going through life with a stranger, about the joys of falling in love with the proper stranger and hearing bells and banjos. Pakula's production is fine throughout, with an outstanding cast, Arnold Schulman's good script, and fine clear black-and-white photography of New York City. "Love with" has many amusing scenes; one of the best shows Angie being entertained by Tom Bosley's family and unmercifully kids people who say, "You know," in every other sentence. The funniest sequence, however, comes at the finale and uses the theme song in giving Rocky's answer to Angie who refuses to marry him just to become the warden for his prisoner of Zenda.

A COUPLE of other comedies opening during the holiday season are hardly worth taking you away from the Christmas tree. "Move Over Darling" is a re-make of Leo McCarey's 1940 film, "My Favorite Wife," in which

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Irene Dunne returned as the legally-dead wife after five years on a deserted island to find her husband, Cary Grant, has just remarried. Perhaps this movie should have been left to TV's Late Show. In the new version, Doris Day, James Garner, and Polly Bergen (as the new wife) struggle manfully to be funny, but the whole picture is so inept that it's almost painful to watch. Michael Gordon's direction and the mediocre script are mainly at fault. Edgar Buchanan turns in a fine performance as the confused judge who declares Doris dead, marries Garner and Bergen, annuls the marriage, declares Doris alive, etc., etc., but his confusion is only equal to the audience's and not likely to make the other players any more endearing.

THE IDEA behind "Who's Been Sleeping in My Bed?" is amusing enough: a TV star (Dean Martin), who plays a noble, all-wise doctor like Kildare or Ben Casey, is pursued by women who confuse his TV roles with his real personality. In the movie, he is chased by the wives of his poker-playing friends, all very pretty women, much to the consternation of his fiancée (Elizabeth Montgomery). While Jack Rose gave his movie a handsome production, he also wrote the feeble script that tries so hard to be risqué and succeeds only part of the time. Director Daniel Mann was no great help; and the main trouble with "Who's Been," unforgivable in a comedy, is that it's dull. Even the tasteless jokes aren't funny. Goldilocks and her three bears should sue.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

CORRESPONDENCE

"Governor Rockefeller's Divorce"

Louisville, Ky.

TO THE EDITORS: In your commendable effort to be broadminded about Governor Rockefeller's divorce, I think you miss the point. You write that he is not responsible to the Catholic "code of life." "His own code does not prohibit divorce and remarriage." That is precisely the point. It's his *code of life* to which I object. And he has demonstrated publicly the quality of his code by divorce and remarriage. MRS. GEORGE SCALISE

Slavery in the U.S.

New York, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: Contrary to what Howard N. Meyer wrote in his November 8 book review, Stanley Elkins' *Slavery* is one of the few books on any aspect of American history that attempts to grapple with the past in terms that make it meaningful to one today. What is "minor" (Mr. Meyer's term) about an analysis which reveals that American historiography on slavery has persistently bypassed any but the moral issue? Is there nothing to be known about slavery in the United States other than that it was either relatively "humane" or, contrariwise, "shameful?" And what is minor about an analysis that isolates the institutional reasons American slavery took the exact form it did, possibly the most brutal the world has known?

About the complex question of the psychological effect of slavery on the Negro, Mr. Meyer asserts only that the "Sambo" personality—a phrase Elkins uses with great care—was non-existent. But this assertion (which I think wrong) hardly obviates the decisive importance Elkins attributes to certain experiences in the life of all first-generation Negro slaves: their violent enslavement in Africa, their terrifying forced journey to America in the suffocating hold of a slave ship, their incorporation into an authority-system in which they had not a single right. If we are to understand the psychological effects of slavery, are not these the experiences with which we must begin?

It remains to be said, again contrary to Meyer, that the paperback publisher of this little known but brilliant study—Grosset's Universal Library—should in fact be commended. HARRIS DIENSTFREY

Reply

Rockville Centre, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: When Mr. Dienstfrey uses the phrase "persistently bypassed any but the moral issues," one is tempted to respond (particularly in these pages): Is there any other? There is nothing new in Professor Elkins' critique of Stampp's *The Peculiar Institution* except his imputation of excessive moralizing to Stampp: yet the latter opens his study by saying that "to judge [white Southerners] without compassion is to lack both the insight and the sensitivity needed to understand the nature of their tragedy."

In his effort to establish a highly sophisticated level of inquiry, Professor Elkins takes care to avoid identification with those who maintained the validity of the "Sambo" stereotype as a racial attribute. This he does by implying that if the plantation gentry had been black and the slaves white, the slaves would still have been "docile," "irresponsible," "lazy," "full of infantile silliness." His honorable intentions do not prevent his result from seeming retrogressive to one as qualified as he to judge the validity of his hypothesis on the evidence.

One cannot marshal the evidence within the scope of a letter. The most able discussion in print is that of Southern University's Professor E. E. Thorpe, in the May, 1962, *Negro History Bulletin*. (How many public or parochial school libraries take either the *Negro History Bulletin* or the *Journal of Negro History*?) Two

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books of particular interest to anyone wishing to pursue the controversy (apart from their other values) are *Army Life in a Black Regiment,* which I hope I may be permitted to mention, a first hand account of two years with 800 men who had been slaves until the day of their enlistment, and B. A. Botkin's *Lay My Burden Down,* a synthesis of W.P.A. interviews with surviving ex-slaves from which I quote: "But, in spite of all attempts to crush it, the slave had a will of his own, which was actively, as well as passively opposed to his master's. And it is this stubborn and rebellious will—tragic, heroic, defeated, or triumphant—that, more than all else, haunts us. . . . The master saw this opposing will constantly in the 'dissatisfied look, and reluctant air and unwilling movement; the constrained strokes of labor, the drawling tones, the slow hearing, the feigned stupidity, the sham pains and sickness, the short memory.' "

James O'Gara's eloquent "Race Against Time" [Nov. 22] pinpoints the pivot of the current white counter-revolt: it is his image of the Negro, "an implausible and contradictory caricature." To the extent that most American History teachers, professors and popularizers have created and are perpetuating this caricature, they injure their country. I am confident that this was not at all Professor Elkins' intent. By a curious coincidence, after my review was written, but before it was in print, the *Times* Book Review published letters from Professor Elkins and myself, protesting J. C. Furnas' contemptible review of Dr. Ruchames' *The Abolitionists.* One may draw the inference that his views on the abolitionist movement, at least, have altered since 1959 when *Slavery* was first published.

HOWARD MEYER

Triptych : The Transmogrified

JOHN FANDEL

I *Polonius Redivivus*

Let all your words be palatable; you will have to eat them, eventually.
Actions speak louder than words, and their slightest whispers are deafening.
Master etiquette, if you must, but do not be fooled by it.
About friends: earth is not heaven.
Do not spoil a good quarrel by bickering, nor a continent for a quarrel's acre.
You have to hear a lot, but ought not listen to much.
If you are justly self-critical, another's censure can perfect your humor.
When you eloquently condemn him, you are probably rejecting you.
Clothes may make the man, if he knows how to wear the trousers.
Borrow back what you loaned.
When you know who you are, be so; but be not hasty nor too sure.
Keep out from behind the arras: the embroidery is all wrong.

II *Mrs. Malaprop Risen*

The progeny of learning is kissing kin.
Meddling with paradox is as dangerous as meddling with simony: many are called but few are chosen.
The inflammatory branches of learning make cold fires.
Self-tallied innocence is a supercilious knowledge of accounts.
Geometry is not geography except when contiguity is non-Euclidean contagion.
Orthodoxy and orthography are so unlike, only confusing them can prove their similarity.
Reprehend true meanings and truth will be taught.
But nothing *is* so conciliating to young people as severity!
The oracular tongue begins in a nice derangement, the epitaph of the epithetic vernacular.
Be as headstrong as an allegory on the banks of the Nile if you would be spared the crocodile tears of the literal.
Caparisons become no one who considers the lilies of the field.
A malapropism titivates bare minds praising their emperor's clothes.

III *Chadband Restored*

Laugh, as you will, at pomposity; it is still somewhat more refreshing than pride.
Anaphora may be ridiculous, but it is more charitable than conviction.
The only appreciation of pleasure is its enjoyment.
If preachers are always in their pulpits, their critics are always in their pews.
Bombast has its compensation: it is one way of underscoring cant.
Foolish questions can be said to engender wisdom.
Peace and war both have adjectives: the former's are literary; the latter's, usually journalistic.
Directness is bound to be praised, for what other apparent response can it force?
I, too, have heard the unrhetorical preacher; his rant is relentless.
Even I must laugh at caricature, but it is nevertheless as naïve as hypocrisy.
The orotund has a cause, too, and parody is more often than not sophistry.
Always save face: it exercises words otherwise useless.

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Eisenhower as Man, Eisenhower as Mystique

The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953-1956. By Dwight D. Eisenhower. Doubleday. $6.95.

by Walter Dean Burnham

WITH this new book President Eisenhower continues an old and useful American tradition: the publication of memoirs by men active in political life. In this first of two projected volumes dealing with his presidency, the author begins with the first Presidential feelers which were extended to him in the 1940's, and continues the story through his first three years in office and down to his decision to run for re-election in 1956. *Mandate for Change* is an extremely readable book, lucidly written and filled with descriptions of men and events which crowded upon the national stage in the early 1950's.

In a real sense these memoirs can hardly be evaluated apart from the decisions and events of the era with which they deal, for they well reflect Eisenhower's virtues and defects as a non-political man located in the vortex of politics. The special virtues which stand forth from these pages are those which have endeared the author to the American public: candor, straightforwardness, innate decency and good will, a determined moderateness of outlook, a patience in dealing with international crises involving the Communists which is not always characteristic of the American elite. These are not insignificant strengths for a President to possess, and they surely cannot be omitted in the final historical appraisals of the Eisenhower years which will be made one day.

But there is another side to the coin. To be sure, theory without action is fruitless speculation. But action without theory is blind activism. President Eisenhower has never pretended to be an intellectual, and appraisal of his performance must carefully bear in mind the vital importance of the first half of our equation as it applies to the practical world in which political decisions are made. Indeed, the most clearly "intellectual" of our Presidents—the two Adamses and Woodrow Wilson—achieved only very mixed results while in office. Even so, our outstanding Presidents have tended to act in grave matters informed by some concept of their office, of the roots and effects of political movements, and of the larger society itself.

If one is to read *Mandate for Change* in the hope that Eisenhower will spell out any such concepts, as Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft and Woodrow Wilson did in their writings, he is doomed to disappointment. Indeed, this book is as remarkable for what it leaves unsaid as for what it discusses. As soon as Eisenhower moves away from the cut-and-thrust of developing events and contending personalities, a peculiar fuzzy nimbus seems to arise from the pages. The concepts do emerge, but it is up to the reader to piece them together from the inarticulate major premises which underlie the author's treatment of his subject matter.

Much can be learned about Eisenhower's view of the Presidency, for example, from his treatment of the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision. He discusses this surpassingly important decision in four short paragraphs, while devoting entire chapters to his 1952 trip to Korea and to the midterm elections of 1954. He summarizes his view of this constitutional landmark in one sentence: "Although, as a President, I never expressed approbation or disapproval of a Court decision, in this instance there can be no question that the judgment of the Court was right." In this single sentence there are quite a few unasked and unanswered questions. Why, for instance, did he accept the long-outmoded and politically unrealistic attitude that major constituent decisions of the Supreme Court were not to receive sanction or even discussion from the President of the United States? Why did he refuse to follow the lead of our strong Presidents in asserting, in the words of F. D. R., that "The Presidency is pre-eminently a place of *moral* leadership?" The answers are not difficult to piece together. Eisenhower's is a Whig view of the Presidency, the view that it is the function of the President to preside, not to lead the people in any positive sense, and that what other coordinate branches of the government do or say is none of his institutional business. Such a view also colored his approach to Senator McCarthy: as an individual, he struck the Senator from the White House list; as a President, he said nothing.

Another aspect of Eisenhower's inarticulate system of premises is quite easy to fit into the puzzle, since he is more than usually explicit about it. He holds essentially nineteeth-century opinions about the capitalist enterprise system—not as the fruit of matured deliberation or theoretical or practical alternatives but with a personal faith which he has never seen fit to examine. His concern for maintaining the status quo forbids him to contemplate selling T.V.A., but his beliefs forbid him to consider that extending that experiment in public-sector area development could ever be desirable. The balanced budget is the Ark of the fiscal Covenant; of the writings of economists concerned with high capitalism's powerful tendencies toward underconsumption and stagnation, he seems to know little or nothing.

Connected with this is Eisenhower's deep respect for the wealthy big businessman and his surprisingly feebly-developed empathy for the needs and political expressions of the lesser orders in American society. He draws the following conclusions, for example, from the Senate's refusal to confirm Charles E. Wilson as Secretary of Defense until he disposed of his stock in General Motors: "The likely eventual result is that sooner or later (Presidents) will be unable to get anybody to take jobs in Washington except business failures,

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political hacks and New Deal lawyers."

Eisenhower has a point about the effect of the conflict-of-interest statutes in discouraging recruitment of governmental talent in this kind of socio-economic system. But the mode of expression, no less than the appointments he made to his Cabinet, reflects a solid belief that the businessman is a superior type of being who has a prescriptive right to rule. He is also remarkably quick, when representatives of other points of view challenge his assumptions and the actions flowing from them, to dismiss such persons as "breast-beaters" and generally as trouble-makers.

The same simplicity of view attends President Eisenhower as he confronts the outside world. It would be too cruel to render the orthodox American definition of the "free world" as (in part) those dictators who are militant anti-Communists and favorably disposed to American capital investments, and the non-free world as consisting of those dictators who are not; but at times things seem almost that simple. We read in the fascinating chapter on the overthrow of the Arbenz Government in Guatemala, for instance, that "The major factor in the successful outcome was the disaffection of the Guatemalan armed forces and the population as a whole with the tyrannical regime of Arbenz," and that the leader of the coup, Castillo Armas, "enjoyed the devotion of his people" in the years after 1954. This description of reality in Guatemala is likely to puzzle those who know the history of social revolutions in Mexico, Bolivia and Cuba, and know also that the military exists in Latin America to defend the ruling classes not from without, but from within.

What evidence does Eisenhower present to support the claim that the Arbenz regime was Communist? One item is the seizure of a quarter million acres of the United Fruit Company's *unused* land in Guatemala, a country whose most desperate need is equitable land reform. No further effort seems to have been made in 1954 or later to understand why so many Latin Americans, like President Arevalo of Guatemala, think of the U.S. as a "shark" among "sardines." It seems to be assumed, with the complacency which only the comfortable can afford, that we can sit on the Latin American volcano indefinitely by unmaking governments which displease us. Of underdevelopment as a central problem there is not a word.

This, then, is a book which repays reading, both for what it contains and what it does not contain. We are too close to the Eisenhower years to render any final judgments. For now, however, Sam Rayburn's 1952 remark about the General might be recalled: "No. Won't do. Fine man. Wrong profession."

Confronting the Adolescent

Crisis of Faith: The Religious Psychology of Adolescence. By Pierre Babin. Herder and Herder. $4.50.

by William J. Wood

THIS BOOK squarely faces a double-edged challenge: Is Christianity really relevant to modern youth? And, is modern youth capable of Christianity? Father Pierre Babin, an experienced and perceptive catechetical scholar, handles these questions with the thoroughness of a scientist and the precision of an artist. Although his book is not the last word on the religious psychology of adolescence, it may well be a tremendously significant first word (in English, at least), which should be read and studied prayerfully by parents and educators, by anyone who really cares about the future of the world we live in.

Father Babin carefully analyzes present-day Christianity and the contemporary adolescent, attempting to show how the two can meet. He continually stresses the importance of "event" both in adolescent psychology and in genuine Christianity. In fact, the focal point of his study is an event: the here-and-now decision of the young person to affirm or lapse from faith in Christ. Are the objective signs which call for and justify faith available to today's adolescent? Does the adolescent have the subjective attitudes (e.g., a sense of the sacred and a need for redemption) which make possible the act of faith? To both these pivotal queries Babin gives a qualified, but definite, "Yes." He goes so far as to observe that Divine Providence has so arranged things that today's youth may be in a better position to commit themselves fully to Christ than any group at any other period of history—*if* natural potentialities and modern circumstances are raised to the supernatural through the endeavors of Christian education to cooperate in God's plan.

Father Babin is fully aware that today's teenagers are the "tense generation": insecure, disillusioned, rebellious, determined to make their own mark. But he also sees them as open to unlimited perspectives, thirsting for life, sensitive to human values, and searching for love. The burden of winning them to belief rests on the shoulders of Christian educators.

What Babin proposes as the key to Christian education's task in the modern world is basically an adaptation of Carl Rogers' pedagogical method: education through understanding and witness. Authentic understanding renders youth open to authentic witness and the workings of the Holy Spirit. The words and deeds of the teacher (including Physics teachers, coaches, and moderators of activities, as well as religion teachers and spiritual directors) reveal the Incarnate Christ to the young person craving order, meaning, and love. Babin calls for a revolution in Christian pedagogy to match the renewal going on in other areas of the Church. In education, too, the Church must be (to use the words of Pope John) "healthily modernized and rejuvenated." How, asks Babin, can the adolescent be expected to commit himself to a Faith which seems to contradict the mainstream of life? The educator must encounter his students in the context of the modern world. like a father, in the image of the Father. With complete self-detachment, he must desire all the grandeur of the freedom and creativity of his students.

It is likely that Father Babin will

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be charged with bright-eyed idealism or undisciplined permissiveness. But close scrutiny will reveal that *Crisis of Faith* contains a realistic understanding of adolescent psychology and of the teenager of the sixties. One danger, however—as so often is the case when a man of vision expresses himself clearly—is that some may feel, after reading this book, that they have all the answers when what they actually have is simply a blueprint.

If Babin's book had nothing else to offer, it would still serve as a reminder of the urgent need for a specifically American analysis of adolescent faith. Much remains to be said about Faith in an affluent society, where the very social acceptability of religion presents a pathetic block to genuine religious conviction. Then there is the phenomenon of increasingly overcrowded schools. Can already overburdened and underpaid teachers achieve the Christian education which Father Babin envisages? *Crisis of Faith* is a badly needed compass pointing in the right direction, but no more than that.

Creative Teaching

Teacher. By Sylvia Ashton-Warner. Simon and Schuster. $5.

by Philip Deasy

TWO OF the three "R's" have been subjected to some rigorous goings-over during the past few years. We have been told why Johnny can't read, and, since Sputnik I, why Ivan can read better than Johnny. If Johnny can't read, then of course he won't be able to write, either. No indictment of how the second "R" is taught has been quite so sweeping as the one made in the latest, and most thorough, study of the teaching of writing in college: "Though one comes to the conclusion reluctantly, it seems inescapable that short of trying to remake not only American education from the kindergarten through the graduate school but a great part of American society as well, no genuine cure is possible for the careless, inexact, jargon-ridden language that a great many American college students habitually use in their written work without effective rebuke."

It is also inescapable that the teachers who teach the "R's" so ineffectively must have themselves been poorly taught. Thus we are now hearing about the "miseducation" of teachers and of the horrors of those academic snake pits, the teachers' colleges. For conditions even more horrendous, one has only to read the discussions that have been going on during the past summer in the pages of the *London Times Literary Supplement* about the stultifying process of acquiring an American Ph.D. in English. In short, things are indeed bad all over.

In view of the foregoing, the most significant feature of *Teacher* is that it is a book that says a genuine cure is possible, although admittedly, to effect that cure American education would have to be remade from the kindergarten up. *Teacher* is mostly about kindergarten or "infant room" teaching. It is written by one who knows because she has been there, and for no less than twenty-four years. More than that this teacher of Maori and English five-year-olds in a New Zealand school has been superbly successful in teaching her children their "R's." The oft-quoted Shavian saw, "He who can, does; he who can't, teaches" doesn't apply to Miss Ashton-Warner. As a creative writer of high distinction, which her novel *Spinster* amply proves, she both does and teaches. Because of that she has every right to refer to her method as "creative teaching."

It is not a new method, as she reminds us, but rather one that has been forgotten (Socrates and Plato practiced it) or rejected. It is primarily the recognition that in the teaching activity one proceeds from the known to the unknown. And what, above all, is known is that a child, even a five-year-old, has already an inner life and a vocabulary to express that life. It is the inner life that must be brought out. It must not be superimposed from without. Those horrid "Janet and John" books of the American kindergarten ("John, Janet come look and see the boats") superimpose; the words come from outside, bloodless. The words that Miss Ashton-Warner elicits from her children are organic words; they have relevance to the children's lives; they have been experienced: "Mummy," "Daddy," "kiss," "frightened," "ghost." Each morning she asks each child for a new word, which is then duly written down by teacher on a "tough little card" to be looked at later by the children and utilized for the spelling and writing lessons. First, that is, there is the Key Vocabulary, "the one-word caption of the inner world"; then, creative writing, "the sentence-length or story-length caption."

The teacher's supreme concern is to bring as many facets of teaching as she can into "the creative vent," with the emphasis on reading and writing, which then become the outlets for the children's creative vents. Creativity is life; the destructive vent, which the author so often notes in the Maori five-year-olds, is "the unlived life." Since every happening in the infant room is either creative or destructive, Miss Ashton-Warner believes profoundly in Erich Fromm's observation: "Life has an inner dynamism of its own; it tends to grow, to be expressed, to be lived. The amount of destructiveness in a child is proportionate to the amount to which the expansiveness of his life has been curtailed. Destructiveness is the outcome of the unlived life."

There is more to *Teacher* than how to teach successfully in an infant room. The latter part of the book, "Life in a Maori School," (from a diary) covers many more of the school's activities, and is no less charming and moving. There are in addition profuse illustrations, "snapshots," as the dust jacket states, "made catch-as-catch-can in an infant room 'loud with the roar of erupting creativity.'" Miss Ashton-Warner doesn't mind the roar. Among her sagest comments is this: "If you don't like noise, don't be a teacher."

REVIEWERS

Walter Dean Burnham is now doing research on voting patterns at the University of Michigan.

William J. Wood, S.J., a faculty member of the Summer School of Catholic Action, is currently studying theology at Alma College, California.

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ART

Master Drawings

"A CERTAIN exquisite coherence to be pursued in expression"; this function of literature, remarked by Paul Valéry in *Choses Tuées,* is perhaps largely applicable to any successful work of art. It is peculiarly apt to the art of drawing, where the essence of its fascination is to have many insights expressed succinctly.

The infinite variety of the magic of drawing has been explored and exhibited in two excellent shows in New York City this season. The effect has been a revelation of how style extends the bounds of this art, mirroring the more complex gamut of painting and sculpture and yet intrinsically pursuing its own nature and boring from within.

The exhibition of *Twentieth Century Master Drawings* at the Guggenheim museum is the more ingenious and exceptional because the span of time covered is relatively short, and therefore the work of fewer great masters can be drawn upon.

It was no surprise to see Matisse prominent among twentieth-century draughtsmen; but it was a delight to remark the diversity of his means and ends within the exquisite coherence of his drawings. The crisp curlicues of the lady in the *Plumed Hat,* the soft blots and heavy brush lines of *Dahlias and Pomegranates,* the sinuous arabesque of *Seated Nude,* the dashing short strokes of the charcoal *Self-Portrait*—each is a superlative and different example of a master's drawing idioms.

It must have been much harder to choose from the whole field of the twentieth century than from the realm of Matisse, but it was done with the same exigent catholicity. If the drawing was not done by a master, it was nonetheless usually a master drawing. Charles Burchfield's blunt, comma brushstrokes in his *Apple Orchard,* the bewitching geometry of Albers' *Reverse+Obverse* and Pollack's dreamlike cobweb-landscape called *Birthday Card,* were splendid modern American drawing-styles observed. The lyrical economy of Brancusi's outline *Nude* —a tour-de-force of drawing magic—is at the opposite pole in style, technique and expression from the *Reclining Nude* of another twentieth-century sculptor, Maillol, full-fleshed through its shimmering, painterly shading. A faint, broken line barely evokes Giacometti's *Walking Man* in space while a wild swirling mass suggests Appel's *Man In The Wind;* Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, a French artist who died at 24 in 1915, brings briefly to light a sensuous *Recumbent Nude* by limpid, telling line.

Master Drawings

Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, N.Y.C., through Jan. 5.
Minnesota University Gallery, Minneapolis, Feb. 3-March 5.
The Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Apr. 6-May 24.

It was a curious thing that Picasso, who is certainly one of the major draughtsmen of our era—as well as a master artist—is rather tamely represented at the Guggenheim exhibit. A mannered romantic drawing, precise Ingres-like ones, a Cubist drawing, a slashing study for the Guernica, presented his variety without his full power. If this admirable show—later to be seen in Minneapolis and Cambridge, Mass.—can be said to have a fault, perhaps this is it. It is accompanied by an excellent catalogue.

An eloquent portrait of *Fernande Olivier* in Picasso's most forceful shorthand style appeared in the exhibit of drawings from the Chicago Art Institute that was handsomely presented at the Wildenstein Gallery in N. Y. C. (Oct. 17-Nov. 30), as a benefit for that center of fine drawings. This exhibit covered a period of five centuries; the possibilities were therefore vast, and the danger chiefly from an embarrassment of riches. Not that the danger—in any case a most bearable one—resides in the twentieth; apart from the Picasso, an enchantingly elaborate Vuillard interior, a clear-cut and voluptuous Derain *Woman's Bust* and another, perhaps even more beautiful *Recumbent Nude* by Maillol, there were only a modest number of unexceptional contemporary works.

What the nature of this art-form is, beyond exquisite coherence, appears to be as boundless as the genius of the master artists that employ it. It embraces the dazzling precision of Ingres, the different vitality of Daumier and of Degas, the faultless simplicity of Chardin, the panache of Delacroix, the shadowy substance of Fragonard and the serene light-struck form of Renoir. The intent evidence of Carpaccio's *Two Kneeling Ecclesiastics* and the candle-lit suggestions of Guardi's *Masked Ball,* it might be said, are both its creatures.

Even when there is a technical similarity in the drawing of two masters, the unique spirit of each creates an utterly different "nature." The unusual Rembrandt nudes in this exhibit, intimate and personal in feeling, are rendered in a "jotting" line superficially like that of Goya's vibrant ironical figure in *Be Careful of That Step,* for instance—but what worlds apart these works are in expression! You might say they are the *Reverse+Obverse* of Albers' diagram, brought to individual life.

The Art Institute of Chicago is indisputably a treasure-house of drawings by masters.

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